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ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT.

Published 20 June 1749 by J.&P. Knapson.

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# HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINI-ANS. ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, GRECIANS.

Title

MEDES and PERSIANS. MACEDONIANS.

#### VOL. II.

The Continuation of the HISTORY of the CARTHAGINIANS, and of the ASSYRIANS, with the Foundation of the Empire of the MEDES and PERSIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

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## HISTORY

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## CARTHAGINIANS.

## The third Punic war . will him blog to

HE third (q) Punic war, which was less considerable than either of the former, with regard to the number and greatness of the battles, and its continuance, which was only four years, was fill more remarkable with respect to the success and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and destruction of Carthage.

(r) The inhabitants of it, from their last defeat, knew what they might naturally fear from the Romans, from whom

(q) A. M. 3855. Carthage, 697. Rome, 599. Ant. J. C. 149. (r) Appian, p. 41, 42.

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ons

they had always met with the most rigorous treatment after they had addressed them upon their disputes with Masinissa. To prevent the consequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of the fenate, impeached Afdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo commander \* of the auxiliary forces, as guilty of high-treason, for being the authors of the war against the king of Numidia. They then fent a deputation to Rome, to enquire what opinion that republick entertained of their late proceedings, and what was defired of them. The deputies were coldly answered, that it was the business of the fenate and people of Carthage to know, what fatisfaction was due to the Romans. A fecond deputation bringing them no clearer answer, they fell into the greatest dejection; and being feized with the strongest terrors, upon recollecting their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imaged to themselves all the dismal consequences of a long fiege, and of a city taken fword in hand.

(s) In the mean time, the fenate debated at Rome, on the measures it would be proper for them to take; and the difactes between Cato and Scipio Nafica, who were of a quite different opinion on this subject, were renewed. mer, on his return from Africa, had declared in the strongest terms, that he had not found Carthage exhausted of men or money, nor in that weak and humble state, as the Romans supposed it to be; but, on the contarry, that it was crouded with vigorous young men, abounded with immense quantities of gold and filver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all warlike flores; and was fo haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is farther faid, that after he had ended his speech, he threw, out of the lappet of his robe, in the midft of the fenate, forme African figs, and, as the fenators admired their beauty and fize, (t) Know, fays he, that it is but three days fince

(s) Plut. in vit. Cat. p. 352. (t) Plin. 1. 15. c. 18.

<sup>\*</sup> The foreign forces were all under the command of a commanded by leaders of their Carthaginian officer, called by respective nations, who were Appian Bondapxos.

thele figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the ene my and as, Aliw basis then characted because find chieses

(u) Cato and Nafica had each of them their reasons for voting as they did. Nafica, observing that the people ross to fuch a height of insolence, as threw them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them with a pride which the fenate itself was not able to check; and that their power was become so enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every mad defign they might undertake; Nafica, I fay, observing this, was defirous that they should continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this might ferve as a curb to restrain their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak to fubdue the Romans; and, at the same time, so powerful. that it was not for the interest of the Romans, to confider them in a contemptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought, that as his countrymen were become haughty and infolent by fuccess, and plunged headlong into diffolution of every kind : nothing could be more dangerous than for it to have a rival city (to whom the Romans were odious;) a city that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes. more wife and provident than ever; and therefore that it would not be fafe, to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power; fince they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities of indulging them-

To lay afide, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine, which of these two great men reafoned most justly, according to the maxims of found policy. and the true interest of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all historians have observed, that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immedia ately after the ruin of Carthage \*: that vice no longer made

(u) Plut. ibid. in vita Cat.

imperii Romani ab stirpe interlit, Fortuna sevire ac miscere

\* Ubi Carthago, & zmula omnia copit. Salluft. in bell. Catilin.

> Ante Carthaginem deletam populus

arch ations its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by flealth, but appeared barefaced, and feized with aftonishing rapidity, all orders of the republic: That senators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness, without having the least regard to, or sense of decency, which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. "The first Scipio \*," says Paterculus, speaking of the Romans, "had laid the soundations of their suture grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, had opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. For, after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with that city, had been together tally destroyed; the deprayity of manners was no longer solves flow in its progress, but swelled at once into the utmost excess of corruption."

(x) Be this as it will, the fenate refolved to declare war against the Carthaginians; and the reasons or pretences urged for it were, their keeping up ships contrary to the tenor of treaties; their sending an army out of their territories, against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they treated ill, at the time he was accompanied by a Roy

man embassador.

(y) An event, that chance occasioned very fortunately, at the time that the senate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, contributed, doubtless, very much to make them take that resolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender up themselves, their effects.

A. M. 3856. Rome 600.

populus & senatus Romanus placidè modestéque inter se Remp. tractabant — Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, ilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Idem in bello Jugurthino.

(y) App. bell. Pun. p. 42.

\* Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperiiæmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu à virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum. Vel. Paterce, l. 2. C. I.

fects, their lands, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more scasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, vastly rich, and had an equally spacious and commodious port; it stood within sixty surlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but proclaimed war. M. Manilius and L. Marcius Censorinus, the two consuls, were defired to set out as soon as possible. They had secret orders from the senate, not to end the war, but by the destruction of Carthage. The confuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a considerable sleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand foot, and about four thousand horse.

(2) The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome. The answer brought back by their deputies, had only increased their fears, viz. It was the business of the Carthaginians, to consider what Satisfaction was due to them \*. This made them not know what course to take. At last, they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should fee fitting; and even (what the former wars could never make them floop to) to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clause, se suaque corum arbitrio permittere, was submitting themselves, without referve, to the power of the Romans, and becoming their vaffals. Nevertheless, they did not expect any great success from this condescension, though so very mortifying; because as the Uticans had been before-hand with them on that occafion, this had deprived them of the merit of a ready and yoluntary fubmission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was fet out. The Romans had dispatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the senate; and to inform that city, that

<sup>(</sup>z) Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

<sup>\*</sup> To the Romans.

the Roman fleet was failed. The deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they possessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered, that since they had at last taken a right step, the senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other possessed possessed that, within the space of thirty days, they should send (as hostages to Lilybæum) three hundred young Carthaginians of the first distinction, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with inexpressible anxiety: but the concern they were under, would not allow them to make the least reply, or to demand an explication; nor indeed would it have been to any purpose. They therefore set out for

(a) All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians; but the silence of the Romans, with respect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the concessions which that people was willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. But all they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent losses the Carthaginians had sustained, they were by no means in a condition to resist such an enemy, since they had not been able to oppose Massinissa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more

Carthage, and there gave an account of their embaffy.

than all the rest.

They did not think it proper to wait till the thirty days which had been allowed them were expired, but immediately fent their hostages, in order to soften the enemy, by the readiness of their obedience, though they durst not flatter themselves with the hopes of meeting with favour on this occasion. These hostages were in a manner the slower, and the only hopes of the noblest families of Carthage. No spectacle was ever more moving; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing ten but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations. But above all, the unhappy mothers, quite bathed

in tears, tore their dishevel'd hair, beat their breasts, and, as if grief and despair had distracted them, they yelled in such a manner, as might have moved the most favage breasts to compassion. But the scene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their feparation was come; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the fhip, they bid them a long, last farewel, persuaded that they should never fee them more; wept a flood of tears over them; embraced them with the utmost fondness; clasped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breafts. The hoftages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the confuls told the deputies, that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

(b) In such a situation of affairs, nothing can be more grievous than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars, images to the mind the blackest scenes of misery. As soon as it was known, that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp; fignifying, that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive the commands which they were ever ready to obey. The conful, after praifing their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they confented to, but befought him to reflect on the fad condition to which he was reducing them, in the time that Afdrubal, whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause, but their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, was advanced almost to their gates, with an army of twenty thousand men. The answer returned them was, that the Romans would set that matter right.

(c) This order was immediately put in execution. There arrived, in the camp, a long train of waggons, loaded with

<sup>(</sup>b) Polyb. p. 975. Appian, p. 44-16. (c) Appian.

tions

all the preparations of war, taken out of Carthage: two hundred thousand compleat sets of armour, a numberless multitude of darts and javelins, with two thousand engines for shooting darts and stones \*. Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the most venerable senators and priefts, who came purposely to try to move the Romans to compassion in this critical moment, when their sentence was going to be pronounced, and their fate would be irreverfible. Cenforinus the conful, for it was he who spoke all this time, rose up for a moment at their coming, and expressed some kindness and affection for them; but suddenly assuming a grave and fevere countenance: "I cannot," fays he, "but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart " out of Carthage, which they have refolved to deftroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions, " as you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of

" eighty stadia + from the fea."

(d) The instant the consul had pronounced this fulminating decree, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable shrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunder-fruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themselves in the dust, tearing their cloaths, and unable to vent their grief any otherwise, but by broken fighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of suppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice with regard to a people, who would foon be reduced to the extremes of despair. But as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they foon changed them into reproaches and imprecations; bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were fuch beings as avenging deities, whose severe eyes

<sup>(</sup>d) Appian. p. 46-53.

<sup>\*</sup> Balista or Catapulta, miles.

<sup>+</sup> Four leagues, or twelve

eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far, as to get the execution of this order sufpended, till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, if possible, to get it revoked. They were forced to set out immediately, and carry the answer to Carthage.

(e) The people waited for their return with such an impatience and terror, as words could never express. It was scarce possible for them to break through the crowd, that slocked round them, to hear the answer, which was but too strongly painted in their faces. When they were come into the senate, and had declared the harborous explant of the Persons a repeat the persons a person and persons a person of the persons a person of the person and person are person as the person of the person of the person are person of the person of the

painted in their faces. When they were come into the senate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general shriek informed the people of their too-lamentable fate; and, from that instant, nothing was seen or heard in every part of the city, but howling and despair, madness and fury.

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the course of the history for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is great pity that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, should end exactly in the most affecting part of this event. I should fet a much higher value on one short reflection of so judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian ascribes to the deputies and the conful. I can never believe, that so rational, judicious, and just a man as Polybius, could have approved the proceedings of the Romans on the present occafion. We do not here discover, in my opinion, any of the characteristicks which distinguished them antiently; that greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere faid, formed no part of the Roman genius; Minime Romanis artibus, Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty (a most solemn and facred thing) that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws; and, underunderstand at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of them both? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word City in this treaty, the black defign of destroying Carthage; as if, beneath the cover of fuch an equivocation, they might destroy it with justice? In fine, why did the Romans not make their Last declaration, till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hostages and arms; that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their most arbitrary commands? Is it not manifest, that Carthage, notwithstanding all its defeats and losses, though it was weakened and almost exhausted, was still a terror to the Romans, and that they were perfuaded, they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous, to be possessed of so much power, as may enable one to commit injustice with impunity, and with a prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shows, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

(f) The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans, differs widely from what was practifed here. people, fays he, far from using artifice and deceit with regard to their allies, in order to enlarge their power; did not think themselves allowed to employ them even against their enemies, confidering only those victories as folid and glorious, which were obtained fword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns in the same place, that there then remained among the Romans, but very faint traces of the antient generofity of their ancestors; and he thinks it incumbent on him (as he declares) to make this remark, in oppofition to a maxim which was grown very common in his time, among persons in the administration of governments, who imagined, that honesty is inconfishent with good policy; and that it is impossible to succeed in the administration of state affairs, either in war or peace, without using fraud and deceit on

fome occasions.

(g) I now return to my subject. The consuls made no great hafte to march against Carthage, not suspecting they had reason to be under any apprehensions from that city, as it was now difarmed. However, the inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay, to put themselves in a posture of defence, being all unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general, without the walls, Afdrubal, who was at the head of swenty thousand men; and to whom deputies were fent accordingly, to intreat him to forget, for his country's fake, the injustice which had been done him. from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops, within the walls, was given to another Afdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied themfelves in making arms with incredible expedition. The tem ples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into fo many arfenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made an hundred and forty shields, three hundred swords, five hundred pikes or javelins, a thousand arrows, and a great number of engines to discharge them; and, because they wanted materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly supplied their wants on this occasion.

(b) Masinissa was very much disgusted at the Romans, because after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their design, which cir-

cumstance caused some coldness between them.

(i) During this interval, the confuls were advancing towards the city, in order to befiege it. As they expected nothing less than a vigorous refistance, the incredible resolution and courage of the befieged filled them with the utmost astonishment. The Carthaginians were for ever making the boldest fallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines, and harrass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, was then a tribune in the army;

<sup>(</sup>g) Appian. p. 55. Strabo, l. 17. p. 833. (b) Pag. 55.

and diffinguished himself above the rest of the officers, no less by his prudence than by his bravery. The conful, under whom he fought, committed many overfights, by his refufing to follow his advice. This young officer drew the troops from feveral dangers into which their imprudent leaders? had plunged them. A renowned person, Phamaeas by name, who was general of the enemy's cavalry, and continually harraffed the foragers, did not dare to ever keep the field, when it was Scipio's turn to support them; so capable was he to order his troops, and post himself to advantage. So great and universal a reputation, excited some envy against him in the beginning; but as he behaved, in all respects, with the utmost modesty and referve, that envy was soon changed into admiration; fo that when the fenate fent deputies to the camp, to enquire into the flate of the fiege, the whole army gave him unanimoully the highest commendations; the foldiers, as well as officers, nay, the very generals, extolled the merit of young Scipio: fo necessary is it for a man to foften, if I may be allowed the expression, the splendor of his rifing glory, by a fweet and modest carriage; and not to excite the jealoufy of people, by haughty and felf-fufficient behaviour, as it naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itself odicus!

(k) About the same time Masinissa, finding his end approach, sent to desire a visit from Scipio, in order that he might invest him with full powers, to dispose, as he should see proper, of his kingdom and estate, in behalf of his children. But, on Scipio's arrival, he found that monarch dead. Masinissa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I shall give no farther account here of the samily and posterity of Masinissa, because that would interrupt too much the history of Carthage.

(1) The high efteem which Phamæas had entertained for Scipio, induced him to forfake the Carthaginians, and go over

R

<sup>(</sup>k) Pag. 63. A. M. 3857. Rome, 601. (1) Strabo, p. 65.

the Romans. Accordingly he joined him with above two

thousand horse, and did great service at the siege.

(m) Calpurnius Piso the consul, and L. Mancinus his lieuternant arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were confiderably increased, they daily got new allies; and even sent an express as far as Macedonia, to the counterfeit Philip \* who passed for the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in war with the Romans; to exhort him to carry it on with vigour,

and promifing to furnish him with money and ships.

(n) This news occasioned some uneafiness at Rome. People began to doubt the success of a war, which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at first been imagined. As much as they were diffatisfied with the dilatoriness of the generals, and exclaimed at their conduct, so much did they unanimously agree in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He was come to Rome, in order to frand candidate for the edileship. The infant he appeared in the affembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, a general persuasion that he was designed by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the fecond; thefe several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people; and though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edileship which he sued for, the people, difregarding for once the laws, conferred the (e) consulship upon him, and assigned him Africa for his province, without casting lots for the provinces, as usual, and as Drufus his collegue demanded.

(p) As soon as Scipio had compleated his recruits, he set out for Sicily, and arrived soon after in Utica. He came very sea-

fonably

(m) Pag. 66. (n) Pag. 68. (e) A. M. 3858. (p) Appian. p, 69.

\* Andriscus.

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fonably for Mancinus, Pifo's lieutenant, who had rafaly fixed himself in a post where he was surrounded by the enemy; and would have been cut to pieces, had not, that very morning, the new Conful, who, at his arrival, heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops in the night, and sailed with the utmost speed to his affistance.

(q) Scipio's first care, after his arrival, was to revive the discipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the least regularity, subordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, seasting, and diversions. He drove from the camp all useless persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers, and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for foldiers, studiously banishing all things of a dainty, luxurious kind.

After he had made these regulations, which cost him but little time and pains, because he himself first set the example. he was perfuaded that those under him were foldiers, and thereupon he prepared to carry on the fiege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themselves with axes, levers, and fealing ladders, he led them, in the dead of the night, and without the least noise, to a district of the city called Megara; when ordering them to give a fudden and general shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were, at first, in the utmost terror; however, they defended themselves so courageously, that Scipio could not scale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forfaken, and which stood without the city, very near the walls; he detached thither a party of intrepid foldiers, who, by the help of \* pontons, got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, whose gates they broke down. Scipio entred it immediately after, and drove the enemies out of that post; who, terrified at this un. expected affault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, whither they were followed even by

<sup>(4)</sup> Pag. 70.

<sup>\*</sup> A fort of a moveable bridge.

them to fly to a place of fecurity.

(r) Before I proceed further, it will be proper to give fome account of the fituation and dimensions of Carthage, which, in the beginning of the war against the Romans, contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf, furrounded with the fea, and in the form of a peninfula. whose neck, that is the Ishmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five stadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninfula was three hundred and fixty stadia. or eighteen leagues round. On the west-side there projected from it a long neck of land, half a fladium, or twelve fathoms broad; which advancing into the fea, divided it from a morafs. and was fenced on all fides with rocks and a fingle wall. On the fouth-fide, towards the continent, where stood the citadel called Byrfa, the city was furrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abstracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diffances, each interwal being fourfcore fathoms. Every tower was four ftories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants with their fodder, &c. over these were stables for four thousand horses, and losts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge twenty thouland foot, and four thouland horse. In fine, all these were contained within the walls. The walls were weak and low in one place only; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours, which were on the west-side. Two of these communicated with each other, and had but one entrance, seventy foot broad, shut up with chains. The first was appropriated for the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second, or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which flood an island, called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large keys, in which were distinct receptacles + for sheltering C.2

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<sup>(</sup>r) Appien. p. 56, & L 57. Strabe, L. 17. p. 832.

<sup>\*</sup> Nemorinus, Strabo.

sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty thises over these were magazines or flore-houses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of thele receptacles, was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order: So that both the harbour and the island represented on each fide two magnificent calleries. In this island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, though no one, from thence, could fee what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men of war; the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other harbour. (r) So that Carthage may be divided into three parts: The harbour, which was double, and called fometimes Cothon, from the little island of that name: The citadel, named Byrfa: The city properly fo called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.

(s) At day-break, Asdrubal \* perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be nevenged on the Romans, and, at the same time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken, upon the walls, in sight of the whole army. There he put them to the most exquisite torture; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noses, ears, and fingers; tearing their skin to pieces with iron rakes or harrows, and then threw them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: however, he did not spare even them; but murdered many senators who had been so brave as to oppose

his tyranny.

Scipio

#### (s) Appian. p. 72.

\* 'Truas be rubo at first commanded without the city, but baring caused the other Astru-

bal, Mafiniffa's grandfon, to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the tualls.

<sup>(</sup>r) Boch, in Phal. p. 512.

(e) Scipio, finding himself absolute master of the Ishmus. burnt the camp which the enemy had deferted, and built a new one for his troops. It was in a square form, surrounded with large and deep intrenchments, and fenced with firong palifades. On the fide which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve foot high, flank'd at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and, on the middle tower he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be feen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the Ishmus, that is, twenty-five stadia \*. The enemy, who were within arrow-shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to put a stop to this work; but, as the whole army worked at it day and night, without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work: First, his forces were lodged more safely and commodiously than before: Secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, to whom none could be brought but by land; which diffressed them exceedingly, both because the sea is frequently very tempestuous in that place, and because the Roman fleet kept a first guard. This proved one of the chief causes of the famine which raged soon after in the city. Befides, Afdrubal distributed the corn that was brought, only among the thirty thousand men who served under him, without regard to what became of the inhabitants.

(a) To distress them still more, by the want of provisions, Scipio attempted to stop up the mouth of the haven, by a mole, beginning at the abovementioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. The hesieged looked, at first, upon this attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly they insulted the workmen: But, at last, seeing them make an assonishing progress every day, they began to be afraid; and to take such measures as might, if possible, render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, to the women and children, sell to work, but so privately, that all Scipio could learn from the prisoners, was, that they had heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not

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<sup>(:)</sup> Pag. 73.

<sup>(</sup>u) Pag. 74.

<sup>\*</sup> Four miles and three quarters.

ch ions know the cause or occasion of it. At last, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a sudden, a new outlet on the other side of the haven; and appeared at sea with a numerous sleet, which they had then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman sleet directly, they must infallibly have taken it: because, as no such attempt was expected, and every man was otherwise employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, soldiers or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of infult or bravado to the

Romans, they returned into the harbour.

(x) Two days after, they brought forward their thips, with a resolution to fight in good earnest, and found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. It lasted a long time, each exerting themselves to the utmost; the one to fave their country reduced to the last extremity, and the other to compleat their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and, when briskly attacked retreated with furprizing fwiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. At last, after the two armies had fought with equal fuccess till fun-set, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themselves overcome. but in order to begin the fight again on the morrow. Part of their ships, not being able to run swiftly enough into the harbour, because the mouth of it was too narrow, took shelter under a very spacious terrass, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, on the fide of which a small rampart had been raifed during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and lasted till late at night. The Carthaginians suffered very much, and the few ships of theirs, which got off, failed for refuge to the city. Morning being come, Scipio attacked the terrass, and carried it, though with.

with great difficulty; after which he posted and fortified himfelf on it, and built a brick wall close to those of the city, and of the same height. When it was finished, he commanded four thousand men to get on the top of it, and to discharge from it a perpetual shower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution; because, as the two walls were of equal height, there was scarce one dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

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(y) During the winter quarters, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much harraffed the troops that brought his provisions, and protected fuch as were fent to the befieged. For this purpose he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nepheris, where they used to shelter themselves. In the last action, above seventy thousand of the enemy, as well foldiers as peasants who had been inlifted, were cut to pieces; and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after fustaining a siege of two and twenty days. The seizure of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strong-holds in Africa; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itself, into which, from that time,

it was almost impossible to bring any provisions.

(z) Early in the fpring, Scipio attacked, at one and the fame time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it, from whence was an afcent to the citadel, up three streets, on each fide of which were houses, from the tops whereof a shower of darts were discharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houses they came first to, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat which was carried on from the tops and in every part of the houses, continued fix days, during which a dreadful flaughter was made. To clear the streets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aside, with hooks, the bodies of such of the inhabitants

<sup>(</sup>z) Pag. 79. A. M. 3859. Rome 603. (y) Pag. 78.

as had been slain, or precipitated headlong from the houses, and threw them into pits, the greatest part of them being still alive and panting. In this toil, which lasted fix days and as many nights, the foldiers were relieved from time to time, by fresh ones, without which they would have been quite spent. Scipio was the only person who did not take a wink of sleep all this time; giving orders in all places, and scarce allowing himself leisure to take the least refreshment.

(a) There was full reason to believe, that the fiege would last much longer, and occasion a great effusion of blood. But on the feventh day, there appeared a company of men in a fuppliant poffure and habit, who defired no other conditions, but that the Romans would please to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel: which request was granted them, only the deferters were excepted. Accordingly, there came out fifty thousand men and women, who were fent into the fields under a strong guard. The deserters, who were about nine hundred, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of Æsculapius, with Afdrubal, his wife and two children: where, though their number was but small, they might have held out a long time, because the temple stood on a very high hill, upon rocks, to which the ascent was by fixty steps. But at last, exhausted by hunger and watchings, oppressed with fear, and seeing their destruction at hand, they lost all patience; when, abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermost flory, and resolved not to quit it but with their lives.

In the mean time Asdrubal, being desirous of saving his own life, came down privately to Scipio; carrying an olive-branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio showed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage and sury at the fight, vented millions of imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. Whilst it was lighting, we are told, that Asdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself with her two children in fight of Scipio, addressed him with a loud voice: "I call not down, says she, curses upon thy head, O Roman; for thou only

as takes

<sup>(</sup>a) Pag. 81.

takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war. But may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, according to his deserts, the false wretch, who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children! Then, directing herself to Asdrubal, Persidious wretch, says she; thou basest of creatures! This fire will presently consume both me and my children; but as to thee, (too shameful general of Carthage) ge—adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror—suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the tortures thou so justly deserves! She had no sooner pronounced these words, but seizing her children, she cut their throats, threw them into the stames, and afterwards rushed into them sherself, in which she was imitated by all the deserters.

(a) With regard to Scipio, when he saw this famous city, which had flourished seven hundred years, and might have been compared to the greatest empires, on account of the extent of its dominions both by sea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; and that the Carthaginians were even superior to other nations, by their courage and greatness of soul; as notwithstanding their being deprived of arms and ships, they had sustained, for three whole years, all the hardships and calamities of a long siege: seeing, I say, this city, entirely ruined, historians relate, that he could not refuse his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no less than particular men; that the like fad fate had befallen Troy, antiently so powerful; and, in later times, the Affyrians, Medes, and Persians, whose dominions were once of fo great an extent; and lastly, the Macedonians, whose empire had been fo glorious throughout the world. Full of these mournful ideas, he repeated the following verfes of Homer,

"Εανεται δμαρ όταν συτ' όλαλη "Ιλι ή ίρη, Καὶ Πρίαμι ή λαός ευμμελίο Πριάμοιο. 11. 6'.164,163.

The day shall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay,
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's self shall fall,
And one prodigious ruin swallow all.
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thereby denouncing the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who defired Scipio to explain himself

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on that occasion.

Had the wath enlightened his foul, he would have discovered what we are taught in the scriptures, that (b) because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another. Cartharge is destroyed, because its avarice, perfidiousness, and cruelty, have attained their utmost height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious and delusive shew of justice and virtue, shall have compelled the sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, to give the universe an important lesson in its fall.

(c) Carthage being taken in this manner, Scipio gave the plunder of it, (the gold, filver, statues, and other offerings which should be found in the temples excepted) to his soldiers for some days. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly diffinguished themselves, viz. Tib. Gracchus, and Cai, Fannius, who first scaled the walls. After this, adorning a very small ship (an excellent failer) with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome with the news of the victory.

(d) At the same time, he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily, to come and take possession of the pictures and statues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars, When he reffored, to the citizens of Agrigentum, Phalaris's famous bull \*, he told them that this bull, which was, at one and the same time, a monument of the cruelty of their antient kings, and the lenity of their present sovereigns, ought

(c) Pag. 83. A. M. 3859. (b) Ecclef. x. 8. Carthage 701. Rome 693. Ant. J. C. 145. (d) Pag. 83.

lius, suisne servire, an populo Verr. 6. n. 73.

\* Quem taurum Scipio cum R. obtemperare, cum idem redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse monumentum & domesticæ dicitur, æquum esse illos co- crudelitatis, & nostræ mangitare utrum effet Siculis uti- fuetudinis haberent. Cicer.

(a) Pag. 82

ought to make them sensible, which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded, on the most severe penalties, his family not to take, or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

(e) When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as if the publick tranquillity had not been secured till that instant. They revolved in their minds, all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for fixteen years together; during which, Hannibal had plundered four hundred towns, destroyed three hundred thousand men, and reduced Rome itself to the utmost extremity. Amidst the remembrance of these past evils, the people in Rome would ask one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men emulously strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards the gods; and the citizens were, for many days, employed wholly in solemn facrisices. in publick prayers, games and spectacles.

(f) After these religious duties were ended, the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the sate and condition of that country, in times to come. The first care was, to demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage \*. Rome †, though mistress of al-

(e) Appian p. 83.

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(f) Pag. 84.

\*We may guess at the dimensions of this famous city, by
what Florus says, viz. that it
was seventeen days on fire, before it could all be consumed.
Quanta urbs deleta fit, ut de
cæteris taceam, vel ignium
mora probari potest: Quippe
per continuos decem & septem dies vix potuit incendium
extingui. Lib. 2, c, 15.

† Neque se Roma, jam terrarum orbe superato, securam speravit sore, si nomen usquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse definit, quam esse desiit, Vel. Patere 1, 1, ci-

most the whole world, could not believe herself fafe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being: so true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars. lasts even beyond the time when all cause of fear is removed; and does not cease, till the object that occasions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that it should never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced against those, who, contrary to this prohibition. should attempt to rebuild any parts of it, especially those called Byrfa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who defired it, was admitted to fee Carthage: Scipio being well pleased, to have people view the sad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire \*. The commissioners decreed further, that those cities, which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be razed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province. whither a prætor was fent annually.

(g) All matters being thus settled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but statues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curiosities, which the Carthaginians had, for many years, been collecting, in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the publick treasury, that amounted to immense

fums.

(b) Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken, to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt, in less than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's life-time, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it a-new, and conducted thither a colony consisting of

(g) Pag. 84. (b) Appian p. 85. Plut. in vit. Gracch. p. 839.

<sup>\*</sup> Ut ipse locus corum, qui tarunt, vestigia calamitatis ofcum hac urbe de imperio cera tenderet Cic. Agrar. 2. n. 50.

fix thousand citizens for that purpose. The senate hearing, that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over scrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithstanding all these bad presages, and finished it in a few days. This was the first Ruman colony that ever was sent out of Italy.

It is probable, that only a kind of huts were built there, fince we are told, \* that when Marius retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, confoling himself by the fight of so aftonishing a spectacle; himself serving, in some measure, as

a confolation to that ill-fated city.

(i) Appian relates, that Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, having crossed into Africa, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he writ down in his pocket-book the design which he formed on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that having been murthered soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar, his adopted son, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the spot where it stood formerly, in order that the imprecations which had been vented, at the time of its destruction, against those who should presume to rebuild it, might not fall upon him.

(k) I know not what foundation Appian has for this story; but we read in Strabo, that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by Cæsar, to whom he gives the name of God, by which title, a little before (l), he had plainly intended Julius Cæsar; and Plutarch (m), in the life of that

Vol. II. D em-(i) Pag. 85. (k) L. 17. p. 833. (1) Pag. 83.

\* Marius cursum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit; cum

Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio. Vel. Patere, 1, 2, c, 19.

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emperor, ascribes expressly to him, the establishment of these two colonies: and observes, that one remarkable circumstance in these two cities is, that as both had been taken and destroyed together, they likewise were rebuilt and repeopled at the same time. However this be, Strabo assume, that, in his time, Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it rose to be the capital of Africa, under the succeeding emperors. It existed for about seven hundred years after, in splendor, but at last was so compleatly destroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the seventh century, that neither its name, nor the least southers of it are known, at this time, in the country.

## A digression on the manners and character of the fecond Scipio Africanus.

CIPIO, the destroyer of Carthage, was fon to the of famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perfeus, the Jast king of Macedon; and consequently grandfon to that Paulus, who loft his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the fon of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Sen Æmilianus; the names of the two families being fo unit surfuant to the law of adoptions. Our \* Scipio fupported equal luftre, the honour and dignity of both houses, bei possessed of all the exalted qualities of the sword and gown. The whole tenor of his life, says an historian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts or words, was conspicuous for its great beauty and regularity. He distinguished himself particularly (a circumstance seldom found at that time in persons of the military profession) by his exquifite tafte for polite literature, and all the sciences; at well as by the uncommon regard he showed to learned men. It is universally known, that he was reported to be the author

\* Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenisque ac studio. rum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut secit aut dixit aut tensit. Vel, Patere. 1, 1; c. 12,

which the Romans could boaft. We are told of Scipio †, that no man could blend more happily repose and action, nor employ his leifure hours with greater delicacy and taste: Thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exercised his body in toils of war, or his mind in the study of the sciences. But this he showed, that nothing does greater honour to a person of distinction, of what quality or profession soever he be, than the adorning his soul with knowledge, Cicero, speaking of Scipio, says, \* that he always had Zenophon's works in his hands, which are so famous for the solid and excellent instructions they contain both in regard to war and policy.

(n) He owed this excellent tafte for polite learning and the sciences, to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius bestowed on his children. He had put them under the ablest masters in every art; and did not spare any cost on that occasion, though his circumstances were very narrow: P. Æmilius himself was present at all their lessons, as often as the affairs of government would permit; becoming, by this

means, their chief præceptor.

(o) The strict union between Polybius and Scipio, finished the exalted qualities which, by the superiority of his genius and disposition, and the excellency of his education, were already the subject of admiration. Polybius, with a great number of Achaians, whose fidelity the Romans suspected during the war with Perseus, was detained in Rome, where his merit soon attracted the eyes, and made his conversation the desire of all persons of the highest quality in that city.

(n) Plut. in vit. Æmil. Paul. (o) Excerpt è Polyb.

p. 147-163.

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† Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit: Semperque aut belli aut pacis serviit artibus, semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit. Ibid.

\* Africanus semper Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat. Tusc. Quast. 1, 2, n, 62. Scipio, when scarce eighteen, devoted himself entirely to Polybius; and considered, as the greatest selicity of his life, the opportunity he had of being instructed by so great a master, whose society he preferred to all the vain and idle amusements which are generally so eagerly pursued by young persons.

Polybius's first care was, to inspire Scipio with an aversion for those equally dangerous and ignominious pleasures, to which the Roman youth were so strongly addicted; the greatest part of them being already depraved and corrupted, by the luxury and licentiousness which riches and new conquests had introduced in Rome. Scipio, during the first five years that he continued in so excellent a school, made the greatest improvement in it; and, despising the levity and wantonness, as well as the pernicious examples of persons of the same age with himself, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a shining model of discretion and wisdom.

From hence, the transition was easy and natural, to generosity, to a noble disregard of riches, and to a laudable use of them; all virtues so requisite in persons of illustrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the most exalted pitch, as appears from instances of this kind related by Polybius, and highly

worthy our admiration.

Æmilia \*, wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great estate to the latter. This lady, besides the diamonds and jewels which are worn by women of her high rank, possessed a great number of gold and silver vessels used in sacrifices, together with several splendid equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes; the whole suited to the august house into which she had married. At her death, Scipio made over all those rich possessions to Papiria his mother, who having been divorced a considerable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumstances to support the dignity of her birth, lived in great obscurity, and never appeared in the assemblies

<sup>\*</sup> She was fifter of Paulus Æmilius, father of the second Scipio Africanus.

or public ceremonies. But when the again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generofity of Scipio did him great honour, especially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their conversations, and in a city, whose inhabitants, says Polybius, were not easily prevailed upon to

part with their money.

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Scipio was no less admired on another occasion. He was bound, by a condition in the will, to pay, at three different times, to the two daughters of Scipio his grandfather by adoption, half their portions, which amounted to fifty thoufand French crowns \*. The time for the payment of the first sum being expired, Scipio put the whole money into the hands of a banker. Tiberius Gracchus, and Scipio Nafica, who had married the two fifters, imagining that Scipio had made a mistake, went to him, and observed, that the laws allowed him three years to pay that fum in, and at three different times. Young Scipio answered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occasion; that they might indeed be executed in their greatest rigour with strangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with a more generous fimplicity; and therefore he defired them to receive the whole fum. They were ffruck with fuch admiration at the generofity of their kinfman, that in their return home, they reproached + themselves for their narrow way of thinking, at a time when they made the greatest figure, and had the highest regard paid to them, of any family in Rome. This generous action, fays Polybius, was the more admired, because no person in Rome, so far from consenting to pay fifty thousand crowns before they were due, would pay even a thousand before the time for payment was elapfed.

It was from the same noble spirit, that, two years after, Paulus Æmilius his father being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not so wealthy as himself, the part of their father's estate which was his (Scipio's) due,

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<sup>.</sup> Or, 112501. Sterling.

<sup>+</sup> Kategrandtes the dutar athrohogias

(amounting to above threescore thousand crowns \*,) in order that there might not be so great a disparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being defirous to exhibit a show of gladiators after his father's decease, in honour of his memory, (as was the custom in that age) and not being able to defray the expences on this occasion, which amounted to a very heavy sum, Scipio made him a present of fifteen thousand † crowns,

in order to defray at least half the charges of it.

The splendid presents which Scipio had made his mother Papiria, reverted to him, by law as well as equity, after her demise; and his sisters, according to the custom of those times, had not the least claim to them. Nevertheless, Scipio thought it would have been dishonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his sisters, whatever he had presented to his mother, which amounted to a very considerable sum; and, by this fresh proof of his glorious disregard of wealth, and the tender friendship he had for his family, acquired the applause of the whole city.

These different benefactions, which amounted all together to a prodigious sum, seem to have received a brighter lustre from the age in which he bestowed them, he being still very young; and yet more from the circumstances of the time when they were presented, as well as the kind and obliging

carriage he affumed on those occasions.

The incidents I have here given, are so repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reason to fear, the reader would consider them merely as the rhetorical flourishes of an historian, who was prejudiced in favour of his hero; if it was not well known, that the predominant characteristic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a sincere love for truth, and an utter aversion to adulation of every kind. In the very passage whence this relation is extracted, he thought it would be necessary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of

<sup>\*</sup> Or, 13500 I. ferling. + Or. 53751. ferling.

Scipio; and he observes, that as his writings were to be perused by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he would certainly be animadverted upon by them, should he venture to advance any falshood; an affront, to which it is not probable that an author, who is ever so little tender of his reputation, would expose himself, especially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already observed, that Scipio had never given into the sashionable debaucheries and excesses to which the young people at Rome so wantonly abandoned themselves. But he was sufficiently compensated for this self-denial of all destructive pleasures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the rest of his life, which enabled him to taste pleasures of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that resected so much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his darling exercise, contributed also very much to invigorate his constitution, and enable him to endure the hardest toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging to the utmost of his defire his passion in this respect; for the chace, which was the usual diversion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid afide for some years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, studious of procuring his son virtuous pleasures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from those which reason prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himself in his favourite sport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The illustrious youth employed his leifure hours in an exercise, which suited so well his age and inclination; and was as successful in this innocent war against the beasts in Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on against the inhabitants of the

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon, that he met with Polybius in Rome; and contracted the strict friendship with him, which was afterwards so beneficial to our young Ro-

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man, and did him almost as much honour in after ages, as all his conquests. We find, by history, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day when himself and Scipio were alone, the latter vented himself freely to him, and complained, but in the mildest and most gentle terms, that he, in their conversatious at table, always directed himself to his brother Fabius, and never to him. " I am fenfible, fays he, that this indifference arises from your supposing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedless young man, and wholly averse to the taste which now prevails in "Rome, because I do not plead at the bar, nor study the graces of elocution. But how should I do this? I am told for perpetually, that the Romans expect a general, and not an orator, from the house of the Scipios. I will confess to " you (pardon the fincerity with which I reveal my "thoughts) that your coldness and indifference grieve me exceedingly." Polybius furprized at these unexpected words, made Scipio the kindest answer; and assured the illustrious youth, that though he always directed himself to his brother, yet this was not out of difrespect to him, but only because Fabius was the eldest; not to mention, (continued Polybius) that, knowing you possessed but one foul, I conceived that I addressed both when I spoke to either of you. He then affured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command : That with regard to the sciences, for which he discovered the happiest genius, he would have opportunities sufficient to improve himself in them, from the great number of learned Grecians who reforted daily to Rome: but that, as to the art of war, which was properly his profession and his favourite study, he (Polybius) might be of some little service to him. He had no fooner fpoke these words, but Scipio, grasping his hand in a kind of rapture: " Oh! when, says " he, shall I see the happy day, when, disengaged from all other avocations, and living with me, you will be fo " much my friend, as to improve my understanding and re-" gulate my affections? It is then I shall think myself wor-" thy of my illustrious ancestors," From that time Polybius, overjoyed to fee fo young a man breathe fuch noble fontiments, devoted himself particularly to our Scipio, who for for ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father. standing and double at mandines and hereticesta

However, Scipio did not only esteem Polybius as an excellent historian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, by his being fo able a warriour, and fo profound a politician. Accordingly he consulted him on every occasion, and always took his advice even when he was at the head of his army; concerting in private with Polybius, all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterprizes against the enemy, and the several measures proper for rendering them successful. (p) In a word, it was the common report, that our illustrious Roman did not perform any great or good action but when he was advised to it by Polybius; nor ever commit an error, except when he acted without confulting him.

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I flatter myself that the reader will excuse this long digresfion, which may be thought foreign to my subject, as I am not writing the Roman history. However, it appeared to me so well adapted to the general design I propose to myself. in this work, viz. the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not directly its proper place. And indeed, these examples show, how important it is, that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education; and the great benefit they reap, by frequenting and corresponding early with persons of merit: for these were the foundations whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But above all, how noble a model for our age, (in which the most inconsiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animolities between brothers and fifters, and diffurb the peace of families) is the generous difinterestedness of Scipio, who, whenever he had an opportunity of ferving his relations, took a delight in bestowing the largest sums upon them! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to the book, where,

a 6c Vi May. (p) Paufan, in Arcad. 1. 8. p. 505.

where, treating of the taste with regard to solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the antients held riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I therefore thought myself indispensably obliged, to restore, on this occasion, to young students, what I afterwards could not blame myself for omitting.

# The HISTORY of the family and posterity of

I promised, after finishing what related to the republic of Carthage, to return to the family and posterity of Masinista. This piece of history forms a considerable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my subject.

(9) From Masinissa's having declared for the Romans in the time of the first Scipio, he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almost unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconful of Africa, under whose standards the younger Scipio then fought, to defire that Roman might be fent to him; adding, that he should die with satisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will. But believing that he should be dead, before it could be possible for him to receive this consolation, he sent for his wife and children, and spoke to them as follows. " I know of no other nation but the Romans, and, among this nation, no other family but that of the Scipios, I now, in my " expiring moments, impower Scipio Æmilianus, to difof pose in an absolute manner of all my possessions, and to diof vide my kingdom among my children. I require that " whatever Scipio may decree, shall be executed as punctually " as if I myself had appointed it by my will." After saying these words, he breathed his last, being upwards of ninety years of age.

(r) This prince, during his youth, had met with strange reverles of fortune, having been dispossessed of his kingdom, obliged to sly from province to province, and a thousand times

(q) App. p. 65. Val. Max. 1. 5. c. 2. A. M. 38574 Rome 601. (r) App. ibid. Topy

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times in danger of his life. Being supported, says the historian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured, will his death, with a perpetual series of prosperity, unrussed by any sinister accident; for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy; and extending his kingdom from Mauritania as far as Cyrene, he became the most powerful prince of all Africa. He was blessed, till he left the world, with the greatest health and vigour, which doubless was owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he perpetually sustained. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men, and always rode without a saddle: and Polybius observes (a circumstance preserved by (s) Plutarch) that the day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Massnissa was seen, sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

(t) He left fifty four fons, of whom three only were legitimate, viz. Micipfa, Guluffa and Mastanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between these three, and gave considerable possessions to the rest: But the two last dying soon after, Micipsa became sole possession of these extensive dominions. He had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal; whom he educated in his palace with Jugurtha his nephew, (Mastanabal's son) of whom he took as much care as he did of his own children. † This last mentioned prince possesses some children which gained him universal esteem. Jugurtha, who was finely shaped, and very handsome, of the most delicate wit, and the most solid judgment, did not devote him-

(s) An seni gerenda sit Resp. p. 791. (t) Appian. Val. Max. 1. 5. c. 2.

\* Cicero introduces Cato, speaking as follows of Masinissa's vigorous constitution. Arbitror te audire Scipio, hospes tuus Masinissa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo

imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem. Itaque exequi omniz regis ossicia & munera. De Senectute.

+ All this history of Jugurtha is extracted from Sallust. ons

felf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure. He used to exercise himself with persons of his age, in running, riding, throwing the javelin; and though he surpassed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chace was his only delight, but it was that of lions and other savage beasts. To finish his character, he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself: Plurimum facere, & minimum rose de se loqui.

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections, began to excite the jealousy of Micipsa. He saw
himself in the decline of life, and his children very young,
\* He knew the prodigious lengths which ambition is capable
of going, when a crown is in view; and that a man, with
talents much inferior to those of Jugurtha, might be dazzled
by so resplendent a temptation, especially when united with
such favourable circumstances. In order therefore to remove
a competitor, so dangerous with regard to his children, he
gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he sent to
the assistance of the Romans, who, at that time, were befieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing

Jugurtha was actuated by the most heroic bravery, he flattered himself, that he probably would rush upon danger, and lose his life. However, he was mistaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage, the utmost calmness of mind; and, a circumstance very rarely found in persons of

his age, he preserved a just medium hetween a timorous foresight, and an impetuous rashness †. In this campaign, he won the esteem and friendship of the whole army. Scipio

fent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the most advantageous testimonials of his conduct, after having

\* Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii, & præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: præterea opportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transversos agit. Sallus.

+ Ac fane, quod difficillimum imprimis est, & prælio strenuus erat, & bonus consilio: quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. and

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having given him very prudent advice with regard to it; For, knowing mankind fo well, he, in all probability, had discovered certain sparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared would one day break out into a flame.

Micipsa, pleased with the great character that was sent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him. and refolved, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. Accordingly he adopted him; and by his will, made him joint-heir with his two fons. Finding afterwards his end approaching, he fent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in presence of his whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind how good he had been to him; conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect on all occasions his children; who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now beceme his brethren, by his (Micipia's) bounty. He told him, \* that neither arms nor treasure constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends who are not won by arms nor gold, but by real fervices and inviolable fidelity. Now where (fays he) can we find better friends than our brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend on strangers? He exhorted his sons to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha; and to dispute no otherwise with him, than by their endeavour to equal, and, if possible, surpass his exalted merit. He concluded with entreating them to observe for ever an inviolable attachment with regard to the Romans; and to confider them as their benefactor, their patron and master. (u) A few days after this Micipsa expired.

(x) But Jugurtha foon threw off the mask, and began by ridding himself of Hiempfal, who had expressed himself to him with great freedom, and therefore he got him mur-VOL. II.

(x) A. M. 3888. (u) A. M. 3887. Rome 631. Rome 632.

\* Non exercitus, neque thefauri, præfidia regni funt, verum amici : Quos neque quem alienum fidum invenies, armis cogere, neque auro pagare queas; officio & fide pa-

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dered. This bloody action proved but too evidently to Ad. herbal what he himself might naturally fear. Numidia is now divided, and fides feverally with the two brothers. Mighty armies are raifed by each party. Adherbal, after lofing the greatest part of his fortresses, is vanquished in bat. tle, and forced to make Rome his afylum. However, this gave Jugurtha no very great uneafiness, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore fent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief fenators. In the first audience to which they were introduced. Adherbal represents the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injustice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murther of his brother, the loss of almost all his fortresses; but the circumstances on which he laid the greatest stress was, the commands of his dying father, viz. to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring, that the friendship of this people would be a stronger support both to himself and his kingdom, than all the troops and treasures in the universe. His speech was of great length, and extremely pathetit. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following affiwer: that Hiempfal had been killed by the Numidians because of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggression, and yet, after having heen vanquished, was come to make complaints because he had not committed all the excesses he defired to act; that their fovereign intreated the fenate to form a judgment of his behaviour and conduct in Africa, from that he had shown at Numantia; and to lay a greater stress on his actions, than on the accutations of his enemies. But these embaffadors had fecretly employed an eloquence, much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffecmal. The whole affembly was for Jugurtha, a few senators excepted, who were not fo void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The senate came to this resolution, that commissioners should be sent from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the spot between the two brothers. The reatter will naturally suppose, that Jugurtha was not sparing of his treasure on this oceasion: The division was made to is true tructus dueres?

his advantage; and yet a specious appearance of equity was preserved.

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This first success of Jugurtha augmented his courage and boldness. Accordingly he attacked his brother by open force; and whilft the latter loses his time in fending deputations to the Romans, he storms several fortresses, carries on his conquests; and after defeating Adherbal, befieges him in Cirtha, the capital of his kingdom. During this interval, embassadors arrived from Rome, with orders, in the name of the senate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms, and cease all hostilities. Jugurtha, after protesting that he would obey, with the most profound reverence and submission, the commands of the Roman people, added, that. he did not believe it was their intention, to hinder him from defending his own life, against the treacherous snares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with faying, that he would fend embassadors forthwith to Rome, to inform the senate of his conduct. By this random answer, he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait upon Adherbal.

Though the latter was fo closely blocked up in his capital \*, he yet found means to fend to Rome, to implore the affiftance. of the Romans against his brother, who had besieged him, five months, and intended to take away his life. Some fenators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately against Jugurtha; but still his credit prevailed; and the Romans only ordered an embaffy to be fent, composed of fenators of the highest distinction, among whom was Æmilius Scaurus, a factious man, who had a great ascendant

\* He chose two of the nimbim into Cirtha; and thefe, induced by the great rewards be promised them, and pitying his unhappy circumstances, undertook to pass through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring shore, and

from thence to Rome. Ex iis blest of those who had followed qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit : eos, multa pollicendo, ac milerando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Salluft

dant over the nobility, and concealed the blackest vices, under the specious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at first; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly sent them back without coming to any conclusion. Upon this, Adherbal, who had lost all hopes, furrendered, upon condition of having his life spared; nevertheless he was immediately murdered with a great number of Numidians.

But though the greatest part of the people at Rome were fruck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the fenate. However, C. Memmius, the tribune of the people, an active man, and who hated the nobility, prevailed with the former, not to fuffer fo horrid a trime to go unpunished; and accordingly war being proclaimed against Jugurtha, Calpurnius Bestia the consul was appointed to carry it on. (x) He + was endued with excellent qualities, but they were all deprayed and rendred useless by his avarice. Scaurus fet out with him. They at first took feveral towns; but Jugurtha's bribes checked the progress of these conquests; and Scaurus \* himself, who, till now, had expressed the strongest animosity against this prince, could not refift so powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to submit to the Romans, and thirty elephants, some horses, with a very inconsiderable sum of money, were delivered to the quæftor.

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius the tribune fired them by his speeches. He caused Cassius, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha; and to engage him to come to Rome, under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an enquiry might be made in his prefence, who those persons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly, Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The fight of

### (x) A. M. 3894. Rome 683. Ant, J. C. 110.

† Multæ bonæque artes \* Magnitudine pecuniæ à animi & corporis erant, quas bono honestoque in pravum pmnes avaritia præpediebat. abstractus est.

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of him raifed the anger of the people still higher; but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the fession, and at last dissolved it. A Numidian prince, grandson of Masinissa, called Maffiva, being at that time in the city, was advised to follicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which coming to the ears of the latter, he got him affaffinated in the midst of Rome. However, the murderer was feized, and delivered up to the civil magistrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart Italy. Upon leaving the city, he cast back his eyes several times towards it and faid, " Rome wants only a purchaser; and, " were one to be found, it were inevitably ruined \*."

And now the war broke out anew. At first the indolence, or perhaps connivance of Albinus the conful, made it go on very flowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the publick affemblies +, the Roman army, by the unskilfulness of his brother Aulus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out; it furrendered ignominiously to the enemy, who forced the Romans to submit to the ceremony of passing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so shameful : peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was confidered in a most odious light at Rome. They could not flatter themselves with the hopes of being successful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the conful. To I all the rest of the virtues which constitute the great captain, he added a perfect difregard of wealth; a quality most essentially requisite against such an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money than his fword. But the African monarch found Metellus as inaccessible in this, as in all other respects. He

therefore

\* Postquam Roma egressus eft, fertur sæpe tacitus ed respiciens, postremò dixisse, Urbem wenalem & mature propter artes bonas, tum maxiperituram, fi emptorem inve- mè quod adversum divitias innerit.

+ For electing magistrates. Sal. In Numidiam proficifcitur, magna spe civium, cum victum animum gerebat.

therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmost bravery, thro' the defect of an expedient which now began to fail him, Accordingly, he fignalized himself in a furprizing manner; and shewed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of an illustrious general, to whom despair adds new vigour, and fuggefts new lights; he was however unfuccessful, because opposed by a conful, who did not suffer the most inconfiderable error to escape him, nor ever let flip an oppor-

tunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greatest concern was, how to secure himself from traitors. From the time he had been told, that Bomilcar, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, had a defign upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himself fafe any where: but all things, by day as well as night, the citizen as well as foreigner, were suspected by him; and the blackest terrors fat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got a wink of sleep, except by stealth; and often changed his bed, in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting fometimes from his flumbers, he would fnatch his fword, and break into loud cries: so strongly was he haunted by fear, and so Arangely did he act the madman.

Marius was Metellus's lieutenant. His boundless ambition induced him to endeavour to lessen his general's character secretly in the minds of his foldiers; and becoming foon his profesied enemy and sanderer, he at last, by the most groveling and perfidious arts, prevailed so far, as to supplant Metellus, and get himself nominated in his room, to carry on the war against Jugurtha. With \* what strength of mind soever Metellus might be endued on other occasions, he was totally dejected by this unforeseen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and fuch expressions, as were altogether unworthy fo great a man. There was fomething very dark and vile in Marius's procedure; a circumstance that displays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and shows that it

\* Quibus rebus fupra bo- neque moderari linguam : vir rom atque honestum percul- egregius in aliis artibus, nimis

fus, neque lacrymas tenere, molliter ægritudinem pati.

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extinguishes, in those who abandon themselves to it, all sense of honour and integrity. Metellus avoided a man whose sight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with universal acclamations. (2) A triumph was decreed him, and the surname of Numidicus conferred upon him.

I thought it would be proper to suspend, till I came to the Roman history, an account of the events that happened in Africa, under Metellus and Marius, all which are very circumstantially described by Sallust, in his admirable history of Jugurtha. I therefore hasten to the conclusion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly distressed in his affairs, had had recourse to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the shores of the Mediterranean, opposite to Spain \*. The Roman name was searce known in it, and the people as little known to the Romans. Jugurtha infinuated to his father-in-law, that should he suffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtless be involved in its ruin; especially as the Romans, who were sworn enemics to monarchy, seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. He therefore prevailed with Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occasions, very considerable succours from that king.

This confederacy, which was cemented on either fide by no other tie but that of interest, had never been strong; and a last defeat which Jugurtha met with, broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated the dark design of delivering up his son-in-law to the Romans. For this purpose, he had desired Marius to send him a trusty person. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and served under him as quæstor, was thought every way qualified for this negotiation. He was not asraid to put himself into the hands of the Barbarian king; and accordingly set out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus, who, like the rest of his countrymen, did not pride himself in sincerity, and was for ever project is g new-

<sup>(</sup>z) A. M. 3898. Rome 642.

<sup>\*</sup> Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.

defigns, debated within himself, whether it would not be his interest to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time sluctuating with uncertainty, and between a contrariety of sentiments; and the sudden changes which displayed themselves in his countenance, in his air, and his whole person, showed evidently how strongly his mind was affected. At length, returning to his first design, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was sent immediately to Marius.

(z) Sylla, fays Plutarch †, acted, on this occasion, like a young man, fired with a strong thirst of glory, the sweets of which he has just begun to taste. Instead of ascribing to the general under whom he fought, all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim; he reserved the greatest part of it to himself, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was represented, receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he used ever after as his signet. But Marius was so highly exasperated at this kind of insult, that he could never forgive him; a circumstance that gave rise to the implacable hatred between these two Romans, which afterwards broke out with so much fury, and cost the republic so much blood.

(a) Marius entered Rome in triumph, exhibiting such a spectacle to the Romans, as they could scarce believe they saw, when it passed before their eyes; I mean, Jugurtha in chains; that so formidable enemy, during whose life they could not flatter themselves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war; so well was his courage sustained by stratagem and artistice, and his genius so fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were most desperate. We are told that Jugurtha run distracted, as he was walking

(2) Plut. in vit. Marii. (a) Plut. ibid. A. M. 5901. Rome 645. Ant. J. C. 103.

<sup>†</sup> Οία νίος φιλότεμος, Plut. Præcept. reip. gerend. Αρτι δόξης γεγδυμένος, επ p. 206. πεγκε μετρίως το έντυχημα.

in the triumph; that after the teremony was ended, he was thrown into prison; and that the lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition he was cast, quite naked, and in the utmost terrors, into a deep dungeon, where he spent six days in struggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a strong desire of life to his last gasp; an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds; Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greatest crimes might be committed to satiate his ambition, ingratitude, persidy, black

treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

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Juba king of Mauritania reflected fo much honour on polite literature and the sciences, that I could not, without impropriety, omit him in the history of the family of Masinista, to whom his father, who also was named Juba, was great. grandson, and grandson of Gulussa. The elder Juba signalized himself in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter hero. He flew himfelf after the battle of Thapfus, in which his forces, and those of Scipio, were entirely defeated. Juba, his son, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from history, that a noble education was bestowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed fuch a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the most learned Grecians. He did not leave that city, till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. (b) Augustus restored them to him, when, by the death of Mark Antony, the provinces of the empire were abfolutely at his disposal. Juba, by the lenity of his government, gained the hearts of all his subjects; who, out of a grateful sense of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Paufanias speaks of a statue which the Athenians erected in his honour. It was indeed just, that a city, which had been consecrated in all ages to the muses, should give publick testimonies of its esteem for

<sup>(</sup>b) A. M. 3974. Rome 719. Ant. J. C. 30.

for a king, who made so bright a figure among the learned.

\* Suidas ascribes several works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant. He had writ the history of Arabia; the antiquities of Assyria, and those of the Romans; the history of theatres, of painting, and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, and of grammar, &c. a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's short differtation on the life and works of the younger Juba †, whence I have extracted these few particulars.

In voce 166as.

† Vol. IV. of the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres, P. 457-

THE

### THE ANCIENT

# HISTORY

OFTHE

# ASSYRIANS.

### CONTAINING

I. The HISTORY of the | Cyrus, Cambyfes, and ASSYRIANS.

II. The Foundation of PERSIANS and MEDES, by Cyrus; which con-tains the Reigns of feveral States of Greece.

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## INTRODUCTION.

SECT. I. Reflections on the different forts of government.

The multiplicity of governments, established among the different nations, of whom I am to treat, exhibits to the eye and to the mind, a spectacle highly worthy our attention; and shews the astonishing variety, which the sovereign of the world has constituted in the empires that divide it, by the diversity of inclinations and manners observable in each of those nations. We herein perceive the characteristicks of the deity, who, ever resembling himself in all the works of his creation, takes a pleasure to paint and display therein, under a thousand shapes, an infinite wisdom, by a wonderful fertility and an admirable simplicity: a wisdom, that can form a single work, and compose a whole perfectly regular, from all the different parts of the universe, and all the productions of nature, notwithstanding the infinite manner in which they are multiplied and diversified.

In the East, the form of government that prevails, is the monarchical, which being attended with a majestick pomp, and a haughtiness almost inseparable from supreme authority, naturally tends a exact a more distinguished respect, and a more entire submission, from those in subjection to its power. When we consider Greece, one would be apt to conclude, that liberty and a republican spirit had breathed themselves into every part of that country; and had inspired almost all the different people who inhabit it, with a violent desire of independence, diversified however under various kinds of government, but all equally abhorrent of subjection and slavery. In one part of Greece, the supreme power is lodg'd in the peo-

Vol. II. Francisco ple,

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ple, and is what we call democracy: in another, it is vessed in an assembly of the wisemen, and those advanced in years, to which the name of arisecracy is given; in a third republick, the government is lodg'd in the hands of a small number of select and powerful persons, and is called oligarchy; in others, again, 'tis a mixture of all these parts, or of several of them, and sometimes even of the regal power.

'Tis manifest, that this variety of governments, which all tend to the same point, though by different ways, contributes very much to the beauty of the universe; and that it can proceed from no other being, than him who governs it with infinite wisdom; and who diffuses universally an order and symmetry, of which the effect is to unite the feveral parts together, and by that means to form one work of the whole. For although, in this diversity of governments, some are better than others, we nevertheless may very justly affirm, (a) that there is no power but of God: and that the powers that be, are ordained of God. But neither every use that is made of this power, nor every means for the attainment of it, are from God, though every power be of him: and when we fee these governments degenerating, sometimes to violence, factions, despotick sway and tyranny, 'tis wholly to the passions of mankind, that we must ascribe those irregularities, which are directly opposite to the primitive institution of states, and which a superior wildom afterwards reduces to order, always making them contribute to the execution of his defigns, full of equity and justice.

This scene, or spectacle, as I before observed, highly deferves our attention and admiration; and will display itself gradually, in proportion as I advance in relating the antient history, of which it seems to me to form an essential part. It is with the view of making the reader attentive to this object, that I think it incumbent on me to add to the account of facts and events what regards the manners and customs of nations; because these shew their genius and character, which we may call, in some measure, the soul of history. For to take notice only

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only of aras and events, and confine our curiofity and refearches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in vifiting many countries, should content himself with knowing their exact distance from each other, and consider only the fituation of the several places, the manner of building, and the dresses of the people; without giving himself the least trouble to converse with the inhabitants, in order to inform himself of their genius, manners, disposition, laws and government. Homer, whose design was to give, in the person of Ulysses, a model of a wise and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the very opening of his Odyssey, that his hero informed himself very exactly in the manners and customs of the several people, whose cities he visited: in which he ought to be imitated by every person, who applies himself to the study of history.

### SECT. II. A geographical description of Afia.

As Afia will hereafter be the principal scene of the history we are now entering upon, it may not be improper to give the reader such a general idea of it, as may at least give him some knowledge of its most considerable provinces and cities.

The northern and eaftern parts of Afia are less known in antient history.

To the north, are ASIATIC SARMATIA and ASIATIC SCYTHIA, which answer to Tartary.

SARMATIA is fituated between the river Tanais, which divides Europe and Afia; and the river Rha, or Volga. Sey-Thia is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on tother fide of mount Imaus. The nations of Scythia best known to us are the Saca and the Massageta.

The most eastern parts are, Serica, Cathay; Sinarum Regio, China; and India. This last country was better known anciently than the two former. 'Twas divided into two parts; the one on this side the river Ganges, included between that river and the Indus, which now composes the dominions of the great Mogul; the other part, was that on the other side the Ganges.

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The remaining part of Afia. of which much greater mention is made in history, may be divided into five or fix parts.

taking it from east to west.

I. The GREATER ASIA, which begins at the river Indus. The chief provinces are GEDROSIA, CARMANIA, ARACHOSIA, DRANGIANIA, BACTRIANA, the capital of which was Bactria; Sogdiana; Margiana; Hyrcania, near the Caspian Sea; Parthia, Media, the city Echatana; Persia, the cities of Persepolis and Elymais; Susiana, the city of Susa; Assyria, the city of Ninively, structed on the river Tigris; Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and Tigris; Babylonia, the city of Babylon on the river Euphrates.

II. ASIA BETWEEN PONTUS EUXINUS AND THE CASPIAN SEA. Therein we may distinguish four provinces.

I. COLCHIS, the river Phasis and mount Caucasus. 2. IBE-BIA. 3. ALBANIA; which two last mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia. 4. The GREATER ARMENIA. This is separated from the Lesser by the Euphrates; from Mesopotamia by mount Taurus, and from Assyria by mount Niphates. Its cities are Artaxata and Tigranocerts, and the

river Araxes runs through it.

III. ASIA MINOR. This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different fituation of its provinces.

I. Northward, on the shore of Pontus Euxinus: Pontus, under three different names. Its cities are, Trapezus: not far from whence are the people call'd Chalybes or Chaldai: Themiscyra, a city on the river Thermodoon, and samous for having been the abode of the Amazons. PAPHLAGONIA. BITHYNIA; the cities of which are Nicia, Prusa, Nicomedia, Chalcedon opposite to Constantinople, and Heraclea.

2. Westward, going down by the shores of the Ægean Sea; Mysia, of which there are two. The Lesser, in which stood Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Parium, Abydos opposite to Sestos, from which it's separated only by the Dardanelles. Dardanum, Sigæum, Ilion or Troy; and almost on the opposite side, the little island of Tenedos. The rivers are, the Arsepe, the

Granicus

## INTRODUCTION.

Granicus, the Simois. Mount Ida. This region is sometimes

called Phrygia Minor, of which Troas is part.

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The GREATER MYSIA. Antandros. Trajanopolis. Adramyttium. Pergamus. Opposite to this Mysia is the Iland of Lesbos, the cities of which are Methymna, where the celebrated Arion was born; and Mitylene, whence the whole island was so call'd.

ÆOLIA. Elea. Cuma. Phocaa.

IONIA, Smyrna, Clazomenæ. Teos. Lebedus. Colopbon. Ephefus. Priene. Miletus.

CARIA. Laodicea. Amiochia. Magnefia. Alabanda. The river Maander.

DORIS. Halicarnaffus. Cnidos.

Opposite to these four last countries, are the islands CHIOS, SAMOS, PATHMOS, Cos; and lower towards the south, Rhopes.

3. Southward, along the Mediterranean:

Lycia, the cities of which are, Telmessus. Patara. The river Xanthus. Here begins mount Taurus, which runs the whole length of Asia, and assumes different names, according to the several countries through which it passes.

PAMPHYLIA. Perga. Aspendus. Sida.

CILICIA. Seleucia. Corycium. Tarsus, on the river Cydnus. Opposite to Cilicia is the island of Cyprus. The cities are Salamis. Amathus. Paphos.

4. Along the banks of the Euphrates, going up northward: The Lesser Armenia. Comana. Arabyza. Melizene. Satala. The river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates.

5. Inlands.

CAPPADOCIA. The cities whereof are, Neocasarea. Comana Pontica. Sebastia. Sebastopolis. Diocasarea. Casarea, otherwise call'd Mazacd. Tyana.

LYCAGNIA and ISAURIA. Iconium. Ifauria.

PISIDIA. Seleucia and Antiochia of Pisidia.

LYDIA. Its cities are, Thyatira. Sardis. Philadelphia. The rivers are, Cayfirus and Hermus, into which the Pactolus empties itself. Mount Sipylus and Tmolus.

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### 1 INTRODUCTION.

PHRYGIA MAJOR. Synnada. Apamia.

IV. SYRIA, now named Suria, called under the Roman

emperors the East, the chief provinces of which are;

1. PALESTINE, by which name is sometimes understood all Judea. Its cities are, forusalem. Samaria. Cassarea Palestina. The river fordan waters it. The name of Palestine is also given to the land of Canaan, which extended along the Mediterranean; the chief cities of which are, Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Accaron, and Gatb.

2. PHOENICIA, whose cities are Ptolemais. Tyre. Si-

don. Berytus. Its mountains, Libanus and Antilibanus.

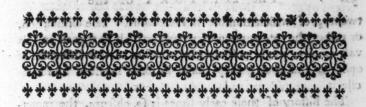
3. SYRIA properly so called, or ANTIOCHENA; the cities whereof are Antiochia. Apamia. Laodicea, Seleucia.

4. COMAGENA. The city of Samofata.

5. COELO-SYRIA. The cities Zeugma. Thapfacus.

Palmyra. Damascus.

V. ARABIA PETRAEA. Its cities are, Petra. Bostra. Mount Casius. Deserta. Foelix.



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## BOOK III.

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# HISTORY

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## ASSYRIANS.

This book will contain the history of the Assyrian empire, both of Nineveh and Babylon, the kingdom of the Medes, and the kingdom of the Lydians.

## CHAP. I. bot we will be

The first empire of the Assyrians.

SECT. I. Duration of that empire.

HE Affyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the most powerful in the world. As to the length of its duration, two particular opinions have chiefly prevailed. Some authors, as Ctesias, whose opinion is followed by Justin, gives it a duration of thirteen hundred years: others reduce it to five hundred and towerty.

twenty, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or rather the interruption of power, which happened in this vast empire, might possibly give occasion to this difference of opinion, and may perhaps serve in some measure to reconcile it.

The hiftory of those early times is so obscure, the monuments which convey it down to us contrary to each other, and the systems of the \* moderns upon that matter so different, that 'tis difficult to lay down any opinion about it, as certain and incontestable. But where certainty is not to be had, I suppose a reasonable person will be satisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Assyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now we learn from the holy scripture, that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and in all appearance the first and most antient that ever aspired after that denomination.

(a) The Babylonians, as Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Aristotle, reckoned themselves to be at least of 1903 years standing, when that prince entered triumphant into Babylon; which makes their origin reach back to the year of the world 1771, that is to say, 115 years after the deluge. This computation comes within a few years of the time we suppose Nimrod to have sounded that city. Indeed this testimony of Callisthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that matter, is not esteemed authentick by the learned; but the conformity we find between that and the holy scriptures should make us regard it.

Upon these grounds I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the first Assyrian empire, which subsisted with

(a) Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. 2. de cœlo.

<sup>\*</sup> They that are curious to Belles Lettres; for the first fee more of this matter may see Tome 3, and for the other, read the dissertations of abbot Tome 5. as also what father Banier and Mr. Freret upon Tournemine has wrote upon the Assyrian empire, in the this subject in his edition of Memoirs of the Academy of Menochius.

with more or less extent and glory upwards of \* 1450 years, from the time of Nimrod to that of Sardanapalus, the last king, that is to fay. from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.

(b) NIMROD. He is the same with + Belus, who was

afterwards worshipped as a god under that appellation.

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He was the fon of Chus, grandfon of Cham, and great grandfon of Noah. He was, fays the fcripture, a mighty bunter before the Lord (c). In applying himself to this laborious and dangerous exercise he had two things in view; the first was, to gain the people's affection, by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beafts; the next was, to train up numbers of young people by this exercise of hunting to endure labour and hardship, to form them to the use of arms, to inure them to a kind of discipline and obedience, that at a proper time, after they had been accustomed to his orders, and feafoned in arms, he might make use of them for other purposes more serious than hunting.

In antient history we find some footsteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus his fon: (d) For Diodorus has these words; "Ninus, " the most antient of the Assyrian kings mentioned in history, " performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike dif-" position, and ambitious of glory that results from valour, " he armed a confiderable number of young men, that were " brave and vigorous, like himself; trained them up a long " time in laborious exercises and hardships, and by that means

" accustomed them to bear the facigues of war patiently, and

" to face dangers with courage and intrepidity."

(b) A. M. 1800. Ant. J. C. 2204. (c) Gen. x. 9. (d) Lib. 2. p. 90.

\* Here I depart from the opinion of bishop Usher, my ordinary guide, with respect to the duration of the Assyrian empire, which he supposes, with Herodotus, to have lafted

but 520 years; but the time when Nimrod leved and Sardanapalus died I have taken from bim.

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+ Belus or Beal fignified Lord, that swall

(e) What the same author adds, that Ninus entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is a piece of antient tradition, which informs us, that the fons of Chus, and by consequence the brothers of Nimrod, all fettled themselves in Arabia, along the Persian gulf, from Havila to the Ocean; and lived near enough their brother to lend him fuccours, or to receive them from him. And what the same historian further says of Ninus, That he was the first king of the Assyrians, agrees exactly with what the scripture says of Nimrod, that he began to be mighty upon the earth; that is, he procured himself settlements, built cities, subdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the same authority, by the band of the fame polity and the fame laws, and formed them into one flate; which for those early times was of a considerable extent, tho' bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which in fucceeding ages made new acquifitions by degrees, and at length extended its conquests very far.

(f) The capital city of bis kingdom, fays the scripture, was Babylon. Most of the prophane historians ascribe the founding of Babylon to \* Semiramis, the rest to Belus. 'Tis visible that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founding of that city, for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis, nor to Nimrod, but to the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in scripture (g), who defired to build a tower and a city, that should render their

memory immortal.

(b) Josephus relates, upon the testimony of a Sibyl (which must have been very antient, and whose sictions cannot be imputed to the indiscreet zeal of any Christians) that the gods threw down the tower by an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane. Had this been the case, Nimrod's temerity must have been still the greater, to rebuild a city and a tower, which God

(e) Lib. 2. p. 90. (f) Gen. x. 10. (g) Gen. xi. 4. (b) Hift. Jud. lib. 1. c. 4.

<sup>\*</sup> Semiramis eam condide- Belus, cujus regia ostenditur.

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God himself had overthrown with such marks of his displeafure. But the scripture says no such thing; and 'tis very probable, the building remained in the condition it was, when God put an end to the work by the confusion of languages; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which is described by Herodotus (i), was this very tower, which the sons of men pretended to raise to the clouds.

'Tis further probable, that this ridiculous defign being defeated by such an astonishing prodigy, as mone could be author of but God himself, every body abandoned the place, which had given him offence; and that Nimrod was the first who encompassed it asterwards with walls, settled therein his friends and consederates, and subdued those that lived round about it; beginning his empire in that place, but not confining it to so narrow a compass: Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon. The other cities, which the scripture speaks of in the same place, were in the land of Shinar, which was certainly the province, of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Affyria, and there built Nineveh: (k) De terra illa egressus est Assur, & ædistavit Niniven. This is the sense in which many learned men understand the word Assur, looking upon it as the name of a province, and not of the first man who possessed it: as if it were, egressus est in Assur, in Affyriam. And this feems to be the most natural construction, for many reasons not necessary to be recited in this place. The country of Affyria in one of the prophets (1) is described by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: Et pascent terram Assur in gladio, & terram Nimrod in lancets ejus; & liberabit ab Assur, cum venerit in terram nostram. It derived its name from Assur, the son of Shem, who without doubt had fettled himself and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under subjection by the usurper Nimrod.

This conqueror, having possessed himself of the provinces of Assur, (m) did not ravage them like a tyrant, but filled them

<sup>(</sup>i) Lib. i. c. 181. (k) Gen. x, 11. (l) Mic, v. 6. (m) Gen. x, 11, 12.

them with cities, and made himself as much beloved by his new subjects as he was by his old ones; so that the historians. (n) who have not examined into the bottom of this affair. have thought that he made use of the Affyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities he built one more large and magnificent than the reft, which he called Nineveh, from the name of his fon Ninus, in order to immortalize his memory. The fon in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had ferved him as their king should adore him as their god, and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears plainly, that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who shewed others the way to that fort of immortality, which may refult from human accomplishments.

I intend to speak of the mighty strength and greatness of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, under the kings to whom their building is afcribed by prophane authors, because the scripture fays little or nothing on that subject. This silence of scripture, so little satisfactory to our curiosity, may become an instructive lesson for our piety. The holy penman has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and feems to have put them fo near together on purpose, that we should see an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men, and in the latter of what is acceptable and well-pleafing to God . These two persons, so unlike one another, are the two first and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives, and with different principles; the one, felf-love, and a defire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the Deity; the other, the love of God, even to the contemning of one's

felf.

NINUS.

#### (n) Diod. 1. 2. p. 90.

amores duo : terrenam scili- tum sui. S. Aug. de Civ. cet amor sui usque ad con- Dei, lib, 14. c. 28. temptum Dei; coleftem vero

Fecerunt civitates duas amor Dei ufque ad contemp-

NINUS. I have already observed, that most of the prophane authors look upon him as the first founder of the Assyrian empire, and for that reason ascribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

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(o) Having a design to enlarge his conquests, the first thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his designs. And having received powerful succours from the Arabians his neighbours, he took the field, and in the space of seventeen years conquered a vast extent of country, from Egypt as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack.

At his return, before he entered upon a new conquest, he conceived the defign of immortalizing his name by the building of a city answerable to the greatness of his power; he called at Niniveh, and built it on the eastern banks of the \* Tigris. Possibly he did no more than finish the work his father had begun. His defign, fays Diodorus, was to make Niniveh the largest and noblest city in the world, and not leave it in the power of those that came after him, ever to build, or hope to build, fuch another. Nor was he deceived in his view, for never did any city come up to the greatness and magnificence of this: It was one hundred and fifty fladia (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety stadia (or eleven miles and one quarter) in breadth; and confequently was an oblong square. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty stadia, or fixty miles. For this reafon we find it is said in the prophet Jonah, (p) That Nineveb was an exceeding great city, of three days journey; which is to be understood of the whole circuit, or compass of the city +. The walls of it were an hundred foot high, and VOL. II.

(o) Diod. l. 2. p. 90---95. (p) Jon. iii. 3.

\*Diodorus says it was on bigness of Niniveb with some the bank of the Euphrates, and exaggeration; therefore some speaks of it as if it was so, in learned men have reduced the many places; but he is mista- stadium to little more than one ken. balf, and reckon sisteen of

† Tis bard to believe that them to the Roman mile instead

of so considerable a thickness, that three chariots might go a-breast upon them with ease. They were fortify'd and adorn'd with fifteen hundred towers two hundred foot high.

After he had finished this prodigious work, he resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. His army, according to the relation of Ctefias, confisted of seventeen hundred thoufand foot, two hundred thousand horse, and about sixteen thousand chariots, arm'd with scythes. Diodorus adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, fince, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the fingle city of Syracuse, in the time of Dionysius the tyrant, furnished one hundred twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, befides four hundred veffels well equip'd and provided: And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to fend into the field near a million of men. Ninus made himself master of a great number of cities, and at last laid siege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have feen all his attempts mifcarry, had it not been for the diligence and affiftance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and particularly exempt from the weakness of her sex. She was born at Ascalon, a city of Syria, I think it needless to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nurled and brought up by pigeons, fince that historian himself looks upon it only as a fabulous story. 'Twas Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and then became mafter of the city, in which he found an immense treasure. The husband of this lady having killed himself, to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent passion for his wife, Ninus married Semiramis.

After his return to Niniveh, he had a fon by her, whom he called Ninyas. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom. She in honour of his memory erected him a magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Niniveh.

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(q) I find no apperance of truth in what some authors relate concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne. According to them, having secured the chief men of the state, and attach'd them to her interest by her benefactions and promises, she sollicited the king with great importunity to put the sovereign power into her hands for the space of sive days. He yielded to her intreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. These orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death, either immediately, or after some years imprisonment.

SEMIRAMIS. (r) This princess applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name, and to cover the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her deeds and enterprizes. She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence, and to that end she undertook the \*building of the mighty Babylon, in which work she employed two millions of men, which were collected out of all the provinces of her vast empire. Some of her successors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embellishments. I shall here speak of them altogether, in order to give the reader a more clear and distinct

Idea of that stupendous city.

The principal works, which rendered Babylon so famous, are the walls of the city; the keys and the bridge; the lake, banks, and canals made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of such a surprizing magnificence, as is scarce to be comprehended. Dr. Prideaux having treated this matter with great extent and learning, I have only to copy or rather abridge him.

#### I. THE WALLS.

- (s) Babylon stood on a large flat or plain, in a very fat and G 2 deep
- (q) Plut. in Mor. p. 753. (r) Diod. 1. 2. p. 95. (s) Her. 1. 1. c. 178, 180. Diod. 1. 2. p. 95, 96. Q. C. 1. 5. C. 1.
- \* We are not to wonder, if a prince built such a city, whewe find the founding of a city ther he was the person that
  ascribed to different persons. first founded it, or that only
  'Tis common even among the embellished, or enlarg'd it.
  prophane writers to say, Sach

deep foil. The walls were every way prodigious. They were in thicknef, eighty-seven foot, in height three hundred and fifty, and in compass four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make fixty of our miles. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact square, each side of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs, \* or sisteen miles, in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much stronger and sirmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the bricks or stones themselves which it cements together.

These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast eitch, full of water, and lined with bricks on both sides. The earth, that was dug out of it, made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the

ditch.

In every fide of this great square were twenty-five gates, that is, an hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promised to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him, (t) That he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass. Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; every one of these towers was ten soot higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall, where there was need of towers.

From these twenty-five gates in each side of this great square went twenty-five streets, in strait lines to the gates, which were directly over-against them, in the opposite side; so that the whole number of the streets were sifty, each sisteen miles long, whereof twenty went one way, and twenty-

#### (t) Ifa. xlv. 2.

\* I relate things as I find them in the antient authors, which Dean Prideaux has also done; but I cannot help be-

lieving that great abatements, are to be made in what they say as to the immense extent of Babylon and Niniveb.

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five the other, directly croffing each other at right angles. And besides these, there were also four half streets, which had houses only on one fide and the wall on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred foot broad; the rest were about an hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was cut out into fix hundred feventy-fix fquares, each of which was four furlongs and an half on every fide, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. (u) Round these squares, on every side towards the streets, stood the houses (which were not contiguous, but had void fpaces between them) all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was likewise all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, near one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.

#### II. THE KEYS AND BRIDGE.

(x) A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite cross the city, from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a key, and an high wall built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that went round the city. In these walls, over-against every street that led to the river were gates of brass, and from them descents by steps to the river, for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the building of the bridge. These brazen gates were always open in the day time, and shut in the night.

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings either in beauty or magnificence; it was a \* furlong in length, and

(a) Q. C. l. 5. c. 1. (x) Her. l. 1. c. 180 & 186. Dio. l. 2. p. 96.

<sup>\*</sup> Diodorus says, this bridge the Euphrates was but one was five furlongs in length, furlong broad. Stra. 1. 16. which can hardly be true, since p. 758.

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and thirty foot in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all fandy. The arches were made of huge stones, fastened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they begun to build the bridge, they turned the course of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in so doing, besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as I shall explain hereafter. And as every thing was prepared before-hand, both the bridge and the keys, which I have altery described, were built in that interval.

# III. THE LAKE, DITCHES, AND CANALS, MADE FOR THE DRAINING OF THE RIVER.

These works, objects of admiration for the skilful in all ages, were still more useful than magnificent. (y) In the beginning of the fummer, on the fun's melting the fnow upon the mountains of Armenia, there arises a vast increase of waters, which running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July and August, makes it overflow its banks, and occasions such another inundation as the Nilt does in Egypt. (2) To prevent the damage which both the city and country seceived from these inundations, at a very considerable distance above the town two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of these waters into the Tigris, before they reached Babylon. (a) And to fecure the country yet more from the danger of inundations, and to keep the river within its channel, they raise prodigious artificial banks on both fides the river, built of brick cemented with bitumen, which begun at the head of the artificial canals, and extended below the city.

To facilitate the making of these works, it was necessary to turn the course of the river another way; for which purpose, to the west of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake,

(y) Strab. I. 16. p. 740. Plin, I. 5. c. 26. (z) Abyd. 2p. Euf. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. (a) Abyd. ib. Her. 1. c. 185.

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lake, \* forty miles square, one hundred and fixty in compals, and thirty-five foot deep according to Herodotus, and feventy-five according to Megasthenes. Into this lake was the whole river turned, by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till the whole work was finished, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates in the time of its increase might not overflow the city, thro' the gates on its fides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of these overflowings was kept there all the year. as in a common refervoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by suices at all convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. The lake therefore was equally useful in defending the country from inundations and making it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon, as they are delivered down to us by the antients; but there are some of them which are scarce to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the lake I have described, I mean with respect to its vast extent.

Berofus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Josephua and Eusebius, make Nebuchadnezzar the author of most of these works; but Herodotus ascribes the bridge, the two keys of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might only finish what her father lest imperfect at his death, on which account that historian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

## IV. THE PALACES AND THE HANGING GARDENS.

(b) At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river, at the time of its being dry. The ald palace, which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs

## (b) Died. 1. 2. p. 96, 97.

\* The author follows Herodotus, who makes it four aux, who in that prefers the
hundred and twenty furlongs,
or fifty-two miles square; but

furlongs (or three miles and three quarters) in compass; near which stood the temple of Belus, of which we shall soon speak. The new palace, which stood on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty surlongs (or seven miles and an half) in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, with considerable spaces between them. These walls, as also those of the other palace, were embellished with an infinite variety of sculptures, representing all kinds of animals, to the life. Amongs the rest was a curious hunting piece, in which Semiramis on horseback was throwing her javelin at a leopard, and her husband Ninus piercing a lion.

(c) In this last or new palace were the Hanging Gardens, fo celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of four plethra (that is, of four hundred foot) on every fide, and were carried up aloft into the air, in the manner of feveral large terraffes, one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrass to terrals, by stairs ten foot wide. The whole pile was fultained by vast arches, raised upon other arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall, furrounding it on every fide, of twenty-two foot thickness. On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, fixteen foot long, and four broad: over these was a layer of reed, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaister. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away through the arches. The mould, or earth, laid hereon was fo deep that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with such the terraffes were covered, as well as with all other plants and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleasure. In the upper terrafs there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the

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<sup>(</sup>c) Diod. p. 98, 99. Strab, l. 16. p. 738. Q. C. l. 5.

the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which this whole structure rested, were large and magnificent apartments, that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful prospect.

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(d) Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for the was the daughter of Aftyages, the king of that country) had been much taken with the mountains and woody parts of that country. And as the defired to have fomething like it in Babylon, Nebuchodonofor, to gratify her, caused this prodigious edifice to be erected: Diodorus gives much the same account of the matter, but without naming the persons.

V. THE TEMPLE OF BELUS.

(e) Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus, which stood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace. It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower, that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according, to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compais, and (according to Strabo) it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, built one above the other; and because it decreased gradually to the top, Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. 'Tis not only afferted, but proved, that this tower much exceeded the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reason to believe, as (f) Bochartus afferts, that this is the very fame tower, which was built there at the confusion of languages and the rather, because it is attested by several prophane authors, that this tower was all built of bricks and bitumen, as the scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. The ascent to the top was by stairs on the out-fide round it; that is perhaps, there was an easy sloping ascent in the side of the outer wall, which turning by very flow degrees in a spiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the same appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon

<sup>(</sup>d) Berof. ap. Jof. con. App. 1. 1. c. 6.
1. 1. c. 181. Diod. 1. 2. p. 98. Stra. 1. 16. p. 738.
(f) Phal. part 1. 1. 1. c. 9.

one another. In these different stories were many large rooms. with arched roofs supported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, by the benefit of which the Babylonians became more expert in aftronomy than all other nations, and made in a short time the great progress

in it ascribed to them in history.

But the chief use to which this tower was designed was the worship of the god Belus, or Baal, as also that of several other deities; for which reason there was a multitude of chapels in the different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in flatues, tables, cenfers, cups, and other facred veffels, all of maffy gold, were immense. Among other images, there was one of forty foot high, which weighed a thousand Babylonish talents. The Babylonish talent, according to Pollux in his Onomasticon, contained seven thousand Attic drachma's, and consequently was a fixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but fix thousand drachma's.

According to the calculation, which Diodorus makes, of the riches contained in this temple, the fum total amounts to fix thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold.

The fixth part of fix thousand three hundred is one thousand and fifty: confequently fix thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold are equivalent to seven thousand three

hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold.

Now seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of filver are worth upwards of two millions, and one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The proportion between gold and filver among the antients we reckon as ten to one; therefore feven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one and twenty millions sterling.

(g) This temple stood till the time of Xerxes; but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished it entirely, after having first plundered it of all its immense riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purposed to have rebuilt it; and in order hereto, set

<sup>(</sup>g) Herod. I. I. c. 183. Strab. I. 15. p. 738. Arrian. 1.7. p. 480.

ten thousand men to work, to rid the place of its rubbish; but, after they had laboured herein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.

Such were the chief works which rendered Babylon fo famous; fome of them are ascribed by prophane authors to Semi-

ramis, to whose history 'tis now time to return.

(b) When she had finished all these great undertakings, she thought fit to make a progress through the several parts of her empire; and, wherever she came, lest monuments of her magnificence by many noble structures which she erected, either for the conveniency, or ornament of her cities; she applied herself particularly to have water brought by aqueducts to such places as wanted it, and to make the highways easy, by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were still monuments to be seen in many places, with her name inscribed upon them.

(i) The authority this queen had over her people feems very extraordinary, fince we find her presence alone capable of appearing a fedition. One day, as she was dressing herself, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon she went out immediately, with her head half dressed, and did not return till the disturbance was entirely appeared. A statue was erected in remembrance of this action, representing her in that very attitude and the undress, which had not hindered her from

flying to her duty.

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Not satisfied with the vast extent of dominions left her by her husband, she enlarged them by the conquest of a great part of Æthiopia. Whilst she was in that country, she had the curiosity to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to enquire of the oracle how long she had to live. According to Diodorus, the answer she received was, that she should not die till her son Ninyas conspired against her, and that after her death one part of Asia would pay her divine honours.

Her greatest and last expedition was against India; on this occasion she raised an innumerable army out of all the pro-

vinces

<sup>(</sup>b) Diod. 1. 2. p. 195-108. lib. 9. c. 3.

<sup>(</sup>i) Val. Max.

vinces of her empire, and appointed Bactra for the rendezvous. As the ftrength of the Indians confifted chiefly in their great number of elephants, this artful queen had a multitude of camels accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. 'Tis faid that Perfeus long after used the fame stratagem against the Romans; but neither of them succeeded in this stratagem. The Indian king having notice of her approach, fent embaffadors to ask her who she was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, fhe came out of wantonness to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldness should soon meet with the punishment it deferved. Tell your mafter (replied the queen) that in a little time I myself will let him know who I am. She advanced immediately towards the \* river, from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a fufficient number of boats, she attempted to pass it with her army. Their passage was a long time disputed, but after a bloody battle she put her enemies to flight. Above a thousand of their boats were funk, and above an hundred thousand of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this success, she advanced directly into the country, leaving fixty thousand men behind to guard the bridge of boats, which she had built over the river. This was just what the king defired, who fled on purpose to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. As foon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a fecond engagement enfued, more bloody than the first. The counterfeit elephants could not long fustain the shock of the true ones: these routed her army, crushing whatever came in their way. Semiramis did all that could be done, to rally and encourage her troops; but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her, and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The fwiftness of her horse soon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crouded to the bridge, to repass the river, great numbers of them perished, through the disorder and confusion unavoidable on such occasions. When those that could

<sup>\*</sup> Indus.

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could fave themselves were safely over, she destroyed the bridge, and by that means stopt the enemy; and the king likewise, in ohedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to pass the river, nor pursue Semiramis any farther. The queen, having made an exchange of prisoners at Bactra, returned to her own dominions with scarce one third of her army, which (according to Ctesias) consisted of three hundred thousand foot, and sifty thousand horse, besides the camels and chariots armed for war, of which she had a very considerable number. She, and Alexander after her, were the only persons that ever ventured to carry the war beyond the river Indus.

I must own, I am somewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raifed against the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they don't feem to agree with the times fo near the deluge: fuch vast armies, I mean, such a numerous cavalry, so many chariots armed with scythes, and fuch immense treasures of gold and filver; all which seem to be of a later date. The fame thing may likewise be faid of the magnificence of the buildings, ascribed to them. 'Tis probable the Greek historians, who came so many ages afterwards, deceived by the likeness of names, through their ignorance in chronology, and the refemblance of one event with another, may have afcribed fuch things to more antient princes, as belonged to those of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterprizes to one, which ought to be divided amongst a series of them succeeding one another.

Semiramis, some time after her return, discovered that her son was plotting against her, and one of her principal officers had offered him his affistance. She then called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any punishment on the officer, who was taken into custody, she voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her son, and withdrew from the sight of men, hoping speedily to have divine honours paid to her according to the promise of the gracle. And indeed we are told, she was worshipped by the Vol. II.

Affyrians, under the form of a dove. She lived fixty-two years, of which she reigned forty-two.

There are in the (k) memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres two learned differtations upon the Affyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.

What Justin (1) says of Semiramis, namely, that after her husband's decease, not daring either to commit the government to her son, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herself, she governed under the name and habit of Ninyas; and that, after having reigned in that manner above forty years, falling passionately in love with her own son, she endeavoured to bring him to a criminal compliance, and was stain by him: all this, I say, is so void of all appearance of truth, that to go about to consute it would be but losing time. It must however be owned, that almost all the authors, who have spoken of Semiramis, give us but a disadvantageous idea of her chastity.

I don't know but the glorious reign of this queen might partly induce (m) Plato to maintain, in his Commonwealth, that women as well as men ought to be admitted into the management of publick affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of states; and by necessary consequence ought to be trained up in the same exercises as men, as well for the forming of the hody as the mind. (n) Nor does he so much as except those exercises, wherein it was sustomary to sight stark-naked, alledging that the virtue of the sex

would be a sufficient covering for them.

'Tis just matter of surprise to find so judicious a philosopher, in other respects, openly combating the most common and most natural maxims of modesty and decency, which virtues are the principal ornament of the sex, and infisting so strongly upon a principle, sufficiently consuted by the constant practice of all ages, and of almost all nations

in the world.

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<sup>(4)</sup> Vol. 3. p. 343, &c. (1) Lib. 1. c. 2. (m) Lib, 5. de Rep. p. 451—457. (n) Επείπερ αρετήν αντί ίμα-

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(o) Aristotle, wiser in this than his master Plato, without doing the least injustice to the real merit and essential qualities of the sex, has with great judgment mark'd out the different ends, to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind, wherewith they are endowed by the author of nature, who has given the one strength of body and intrepldity of mind, to enable him to undergo the greatest hardships, and face the most imminent dangers; whilst the other on the contrary is of a weak and delicate constitution, accompanied with a natural softness and modest timidity, which render her more fit for a sedentary life, and dispose her to keep within the precincts of the house, to employ herself in a prudent and industrious economy.

(p) Xenophon is of the fame opinion with Aristotle; and in order to fet off the occupation of the wife, who confines herself within her house, agreeably compares her to the mother-bee, commonly called the king of the bees, who alone governs and has the superintendence of the whole hive, who distributes all their employments, encourages their induftry, presides over the building of their little cells; takes care of the nourishment and subsistence of her numerous family; regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpose, and at fixed and proper seasons sends abroad the new fwarms in colonies, to ease and discharge the hive of its superfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Aristotle, the difference of conflitution and inclinations, defignedly given by the Author of nature to man and woman, to point out to each of them their proper and respective offices and functions.

This allotment, far from degrading or leffening the woman; is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of domestic empire and government, administer'd only by gentleness, reason, equity, and good-nature; and in giving her frequent occasions to exert the most valuable and excellent qualities under the inestimable veil of modesty and H 2 submission.

<sup>(</sup>o) De cura rei fam. 1, 1, c. 3. (p) De administr. dem. p. 839.

fubmission. For it must ingenuously be owned, that at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women, who by a real and solid merit have distinguished themselves above their sex; as there have been innumerable instances of men, who by their desects have dishonoured theirs. But these are only particular cases, which form no rule, and which ought not to prevail against an establishment founded in nature, and

prescribed by the Creator himself.

(q) NINYAS. This prince was in no refpect like those, from whom he received life, and to whose throne he succeeded. Wholly intent upon his pleasures, he kept himself that up in his palace, and seldom shew'd himself to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Niniveh a certain number of regular troops, surnished every year from the several provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were succeeded by the like number of other troops on the same conditions; the king putting a commander at the head of them, on whose sidelity he could depend. He made use of this method, that the officers might not have time to gain the affections of the soldiers, and so form any conspiracies against him,

His fuccessors for thirty generations followed his example, and even out-did him in indolence. Their history is abso-

lutely unknown, there remaining no footsteps of it.

(r) In Abraham's time the scripture speaks of Amraphael, king of Sennaar, the country where Babylon was situated, who with two other princes followed Chedarlaomer, king of the Elamites, whose tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter against five kings of the land of Canaan.

(s) 'Twas under the government of these inactive princes, that Sesostris, king of Egypt, extended his conquests so far in the East. But as his power was of a short duration, and not supported by his successors, the Assyrian empire soon return'd to its former state.

Plato,

<sup>(</sup>q) Diod. 1. 2. p. 108. (r) A. M. 2092. Ant. J. C. 1912. (s) A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C, 1491.

(t) Plato, a curious observer of antiquities, makes the kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priamus, dependant on the Assyrian empire. And Ctesias says, that Teutamus, the twentieth king after Ninyus, sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, at a time when the Assyrian empire had subsisted above a thousand years; which agrees exactly with the time, wherein I have placed the soundation of that empire. But the silence of Homer concerning so mighty a people, and which must needs have been well known, renders this sact exceeding doubtful. And it must be own'd, that whatever relates to the times of the antient history of the Assyrians is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter.

(u) Pul. The scripture informs us, that Pul, king of Assyria, being come into the land of Israel, had a thousand talents of silver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him assistance, and secure him

on his throne.

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This Pul is supposed to be the king of Niniveh, who repented with all his people, at the preaching of Jonah.

He is also thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, call'd, according to the custom of the eastern nations, Sardan-pul, that is to say, Sardan, the son of Pul.

(x) SARDANAPALUS. This prince surpassed all his predecessors in effeminacy, luxury, and cowardise. He never went out of his palace, but spent all his time amongst a company of women, dress'd and painted like them, and employed like them at the distass. He placed all his happiness and glory in the possession of immense treasures, in feasting and rioting, and indulging himself in all the most infamous and criminal pleasures. He order'd two verses to be put upon his

(r) De Leg. 1. 3. p. 685. A. M. 2820. Ant. J. C. 1184.

(u) A. M. 3233. Ant. J. C. 771. 2 Kings xv. 19. (x) Diod. l. 2. p. 109--115. Ath. l. 12. p. 529--530. Just. l. 1. c. 3. tomb, when he died, which imported, that he carry'd away with him all that he had eaten, and all the pleasures he had enjoy'd, but left all the rest behind him.

\* Hæc babeo quæ edi, quæque exaturata libido Hausit: at illa jacent multa & præclara relicta.

An epitaph, fays Aristotle, fit for a hog.

Arbaces, governour of Media, having found means to get into the palace, and with his own eyes feen Sardanapalus in the midst of an infamous seraglio, enraged at such a spectacle, and not able to endure, that fo many brave men should be subject to a prince more soft and effeminate than the women themselves, immediately form'd a conspiracy against him. Belesis, governour of Babylon, and several others, enter'd into it. On the first rumour of this revolt, the king hid himself in the inmost part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with fome forces which he had affembled, he was overcome, and purfued to the gates of Niniveh; wherein he shut himself, in hopes the rebels would never be able to take so well fortified a city, and stored with provisions for a confiderable time: The fiege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declar'd by an antient oracle, that Niniveh could never be taken, unless the river became an enemy to the city. These words buoy'd up Sardanapalus, because he look'd upon the thing as impossible. But when he faw, that the Tigris by a violent inundation had thrown down twenty + ftadia of the city-wall, and by that means open'd a passage to the enemy, he understood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himself lost. He resolv'd, however, to die in fuch a manner as, according to his opinion, should cover the infamy of his scandalous and effeminate life. (y) He order'd a pile of wood to be made in his palace,

() A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

\* Κεῖν ἔχω ὅσσ΄ ἔφαρον, τὰ ἐκούζρισα, τὰ μετ' ἔρωῖος Τέρπν' ἔπαθον. τὰ ἢ πολλά τὰ ὅλδια πάντα λίλιῖαι. Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bovis, non in regis sepulchro, inscriberes? Hæc habere se mortuum dicit, quæ ne vivus quidem diutius habebat, quam fruebatur. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. liv. 5. n. 101.

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palace, and fetting fire to it, burnt himself, his eunuchs, his women and his treasures. Athenæus makes these treafures amount to a \* thousand myriads of talents of gold, and to ten times as many talents of filver, which, without reckoning any thing elfe, is a fum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains ten thousand; and one fingle myriad of talents of filver is worth thirty millions, French money, or about one million four hundred thousand pound sterling. man is loft, if he attempts to fum up the whole value; which enduces me to believe, that Athenæus must have very much exaggerated in his computation; however, we may be affured from his account, that the treasures were immensely

great.

(z) Plutarch, in his fecond treatife, dedicated to the praise of Alexander the great, wherein he examines in what the true greatness of princes confists, after having shewn, that it can arise from nothing but their own personal merit, confirms it by two very different examples, taken from the history of Affyrians, which we are upon. Semiramis and Sardanapalus (fays he) both governed the same kingdom; both had the fame people, the fame extent of country, the fame revenues, the fame forces, and number of troops; but they had not the same dispositions, nor the same views. Semiramis, raising herself above her sex, built magnificent cities, equip'd fleets, arm'd legions, subdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Asia, spreading consternation and terror every where. Whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounc'd his fex, spent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually furrounded with a company of women, whose habit and even manners he had taken, applying himfelf with them to the spindle and the distaff, neither understanding nor doing any other thing than spinning, eating and drinking, and wallowing in all manner of infamous pleafure. Accordingly, a statue was erected to him, after his death, which

(z) Pag. 335, & 336.

<sup>\*</sup> About fourteen bundred millions sterling.

which represented him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription upon it, in which he address'd himself to the spectator in these words, (a) Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing else is nothing. An inscription very suitable to the epitaph he himself had order'd to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch in this place judges of Semiramis, as almost all the prophane historians do of the glory of conquerors. But, if we would make a true judgment of things, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much less blameable, than the disfolute esseminacy of Sardanapalus? which of the two vices did most mischief to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Affyrian empire should fall under such a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having pass'd through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all states, even to the greatest, during the course of several ages. This empire had subsisted above 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vast empire were form'd three considerable kingdoms; that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conspiracy, restored to its liberty; that of the Assyrians of Babylon, which was given to Belesis, governour of that city; and that of the Assyrians of Niniveh, the first king whereof took the name of Ninus the younger.

In order to understand the history of the second Assyrian empire, which is very obscure, and of which little is said by historians, 'tis proper, and even absolutely necessary, to compare what is said of it by prophane authors with what we find of it in holy scripture; that by the help of that double light we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Niniveh and Babylon, which for some time were separate and distinct, and afterwards united and consounded together. I shall first treat of this second Assyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.

<sup>(</sup>a) Εδιε, σίνε, αφροδισίαζε τάλλα ή εδέν.

#### CHAP. II.

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The second Assyrian empire, both of Niniveb and Babylon.

THIS fecond Affyrian empire continued two hundred and ten years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become absolute master of the east by the death of his father Cambyses, and his father-in-law Cyaxares, publish'd the samous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a seventy years captivity at Babylon.

Kings of Babylon.

(b) Beless. He is the fame as Nabonassar, from whose reign began the famous astronomical epocha at Babylon, call'd from his name the æra of Nabonassar. In the holy scriptures he is call'd Baladan. He reign'd but twelve years, and was succeeded by his son.

(c) MERODACH-BALADAN. This is the prince, who fent embassadors to king Hezekiah, to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we shall speak hereafter. After him there reign'd several other kings at Babylon, (d) with whose story we are entirely unacquainted. I shall therefore proceed to the kings of Niniveh.

Kings of Niniveh.

(e) TIGLATH-PILESER. This is the name given by the holy scripture to the king, who is supposed to be the first that reign'd at Niniveh, after the destruction of the antient Assyrian empire. He is call'd Thilgamus by Ælian. He is said to have taken the Name of Ninus the younger, in order to honour and distinguish his reign by the name of so antient and illustrious a prince.

Ahaz, king of Judah, whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaim'd, either by the divine favours or chastisements, finding himself attack'd at once by the kings of Sy-

(b) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. 2 Kings xx. 12. (c) Ibid, (d) Can. Ptol. (e) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. Lib. 12. hift, anim. c. 21. Caftor, apud Euseb, Chron. p. 49. 2 Kings xxi. 7, &c.

ria and Ifrael, robb'd the temple of part of its gold and filver. and fent it to Tiglath-Pileser, to purchase his friendship and affiftance; promising him besides to become his vassal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Affyria, finding fo favourable an opportunity of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily accepted the propofal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damascus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Isaiah (f) and Amos. From thence he marched against Phacæa, and took all that belong'd to the kingdom of Ifrael beyond Jordan, or in Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection. fill exacting of him fuch exorbitant fums of money, that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but to take all the gold and filver of the tema ple. Thus this alliance ferv'd only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Niniveh, who became fo many instruments afterwards in the hand of God for the chaftifement of his peo-

(g) SALMANASER. Sabachus, the Ethiopian, whom the scripture calls so, having made himself master of Egypt, Hosea, king of Samaria, enter'd into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to shake off the Assyrian yoke. To this end he withdrew from his dependance upon Salmanaser, refusing to pay him any further tribute, or make him the

ufual prefents.

Salmanaser, to punish him for his presumption, march'd against him with a powerful army; and after having subdued all the plain country, shut him up, in Samaria, where he kept him closely besieg'd for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hosea with chains, and threw him into prison for the rest of his days; carry'd away the people captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Israel,

(f) If. viii. 4. Am. i. 5. Anl. J. C. 728. 2 Kings xvii.

(g) A. M. 3276.

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or of the ten tribes, deftroy'd, as God had often threaten'd by his prophets. This kingdom, from the time of its separation from that of Judah, lasted about two hundred and fifty years.

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(b) 'Twas at this time that Tobit, with Ann his wife, and his fon Tobias, was carried captive into Affyria, where he became one of the principal officers to king Salmanaser.

Salmanafer died, after having reign'd fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son.

(i) SENNACHERIB. He is also called Sargon in scrip-ture.

Affoon as this prince was fettled on the throne, he renew'd the demand of the tribute, exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refusal, he declared war against him, and enter'd into Judea with a mighty army. Hezekiah, griev'd to see his kingdom pillaged, sent embassadors to him, to defire peace upon any terms he would prescribe. Sennacherib, feemingly mollify'd, enter'd into treaty with him, and demanded a very great fum of gold and filver. The holy king exhausted both the treasures of the temple, and his own coffers, to pay it. The Affyrian, regarding neither the fanc. tion of oaths nor treaties, still continued the war, and push'd on his conquests more vigorously than ever. Nothing was able to withstand his power, and of all the strong places of Judah, none remain'd untaken but Jerusalem, which was likewise reduced to the utmost extremity. (k) At this very juncture Sennacherib was inform'd, that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had join'd forces with the king of Egypt, was coming up to fuccour the befieged city. Now 'twas contrary to the express command of God, as well as the remonstrances of Isaiah and Hezekiah, that the chief rulers at Jerusalem had requir'd any foreign assistance. The Assyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having writ a letter to Hezekiah, full of blasphemy, against the God of Israel, whom he insolently boasted he would speedily vanquish, as he had done all the gods of the other

(b) Tob. c. 1. (i) A. M. 3287. Ant. J. C. 717. If. xx. 1. 2 Kings c. xviii. and xix. (i) 2 Kings xix. 9.

other nations round about him. In short, he discomsted the Egyptians, and pursued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and return'd laden with spoil.

(1) It was probably during Sennacherib's absence, which was pretty long, or at least some little time before, that Hezekiah fell fick, and was cured after a miraculous manner; and that (as a fign of God's fulfilling the promise he had made him of curing him fo perfectly, that within three days he should be able to go to the temple) the shadow of the sun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being inform'd of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah, fent embassadors to him with letters and prefents, to congratulate him upon that occasion, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle that had happen'd upon earth at this juncture, with respect to the fun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely fenfible of the honour done him by that prince, and very forward to fhew his embaffadors the riches and treafures he poffes'd, and to let them see the whole magnificence of his palace. Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable; but in the eyes of the supreme judge, which are infinitely more piercing and delicate than ours, this action discover'd a lurking pride, and fecret vanity, with which his righteousness was offended. Accordingly he instantly advertised the king by his prophet Isaiah, that the riches and treasures he had been shewing to those embassadors with so much oftentation, should one day be transported to Babylon; and that his children should be carried thither, to become fervants in the palace of that monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are speaking of, was in friendship and alliance with Jerusalem, as appears by her having fent embassadors thither: nor did Jerusalem then seem to have any thing to fear, but from Niniveh; whose power was at that time formidable, and had entirely declared against her. But the fortune of those two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accomplished.

(m) But to return to Sennacherib; after he had ravag'd Egypt, and taken a vast number of prisoners, he came back with his victorious army, encamp'd before Jerusalem, and belieg'd it anew. The city feem'd to be inevitably loft: 'twas without resource, and without hope from the hands of men: but had a powerful protector in heaven, whose jealous ears had heard the impious blasphemies utter'd by the king of Niniveh against his facred name. In one fingle night an hundred and eighty-five thousand men of his army perish'd by the sword of the destroying angel. After so terrible a blow this pretended king of kings (for so he call'd himself) this triumpher over nations, and congeror of gods, was obliged to return to his own country with the miferable remnant of his army, cover'd with shame and confusion: nor did he survive his defeat a few months, but only to make a kind of an honourable amande to God, whose supreme majesty he had prefumed to infult, and who now, to use the scripture terms, having put a ring into bis nofe, and a bit into bis mouth, as a wild beaft, made him return in that humbled, afflicted condition, through those very countries, which a little before had beheld him so haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Niniveh, being enraged at his difgrace, he treated his subjects after a most cruel and tyrannical manner. (n) The effects of his sury sell more heavily upon the Jews and Israelites, of whom he had great numbers massacred every day, ordering their bodies to be left exposed in the streets, and suffering no man to give them burial. Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himself for some time, and suffer all his effects to be confiscated. In short, the king's savage temper render'd him so insupportable to his own samily, that his two eldest sons conspired against him, (o) and killed him in the temple, in the presence of his god Nisroch, as he lay prostrate before him. But these two princes, being obliged after this parricide to sly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Esarhaddon, their youngest brother.

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<sup>(</sup>m) 2 Kings xix. 35--37.

<sup>(#)</sup> Tob. c. i. 18--24.

(p) ESARHADDON. We have already observed, that after Merodach-Baladan there was a succession of kings at Babylon, of whom history has transmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an eight years interregnum, full of troubles and commotions. Esarhaddon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himself master of Babylon; and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years.

After having re-united Syria and Palestine to the Assyrian empire, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign, he enter'd the land of Israel, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Assyria, except an inconsiderable number that escaped his pursuit. And that the country might not become a desart, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. (4) The prediction of Isaiah was then fulfilled; within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people. This was exactly the space of time elapsed between the prediction and the event; and the people of Israel did then truly cease to be a visible nation, what was left of them being altogether mixed and consounded with other nations.

(r) This prince, having possessed himself of the land of Israel, sent some of his generals with part of his army into Judea, to reduce that country likewise under his subjection. These generals deseated Manasseh, and having taken him prisoner, brought him to Esarhaddon, who put him in chains, and carried him with him to Babylon. But Manasseh, having afterwards appeased the wrath of God by a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and return'd to Jeru-

falem.

(s) Mean time the colonies, that had been fent into Samaria, in the room of its antient inhabitants, were grievoully infested with lions. The king of Babylon being told, the sause of that calamity was their not worshipping the God of the

(p) A.M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Can. Ptol. (q) If. vii. 8. (r) 2 Chron, xxxiii, 11, 13. (s) 2 Kings xvii, 25--41.

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the country, ordered an Israelitish priest to be sent to them from among the captives taken in that country, to teach them the worship of the God of Israel. But these idolaters, contented with admitting the true God amongst their antient divinities, worshipped him jointly with their false deities. This corrupt worship continued afterwards, and was the source of the aversion entertain'd by the Jews against the Samaritans.

Elarhaddon, after a prosperous reign of thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was succeeded by his son.

(t) SAOSBUCHINUS. This prince is call'd in scripture Nabuchodonosor, which name was common to the kings of Babylon. To distinguish this from the others, he is call'd Nabuchodonosor the first.

(u) Tobit was still alive at this time, and dwelt among other captives at Niniveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold his children the sudden destruction of that city; of which at that time there was not the least appearance. He advised them to quit the city, before its ruin came on, and to depart assoon as they had buried him and his wife.

The ruin of Ninivel is at band, fays the good old man, whide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. These last words are very remarkable, the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. Men will be apt to impute the ruin of Ninivel to any other reason, but we are taught by the Holy Ghost, that her unrighteousness was the true cause of it, as it will be with all other states, that imitate her crimes.

(x) Nabuchodonofor defeated the king of the Medes, in a pitch'd battle fought the twelfth year of his reign upon the plain of Ragau, took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom, and return'd triumphant to Niniveh. When we come to treat of the history of the Medes, we shall give a more particular account of this victory.

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(t) A. M. 3335. Ant. J. C. 669. (u) Tob. xiv. 5-13. (x) Judith i. 5, 6.

'Twas immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was belieged by Holofernes, one of Nabuchodonosor's generals: and that the famous enterprise of Judith was accom-

plished.

(y) SARACUS, otherwise called CHYNA-LADANUS. This prince succeeded Saosduchinus; and having rendered himself contemptible to his subjects, by his esseminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolassar, a Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, usurped that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned over it one and twenty years.

(z) NABOPOLASSAR. This prince, the better to maintain his usurp'd sovereignty, made an alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. With their joint forces they befieged and took Niniveh, kill'd Saracus, and utterly destroy'd that great city. We shall speak more largely of this great event, when we come to the history of the Medes. From this time forwards the city of Babylon became the only capital of the

Affyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having destroy'd Niniveh, became so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Necho, king of Egypt, was so alarm'd at their power, that to stop their progress he march'd towards the Euphrates at the head of a powerful army, and made several considerable conquests. See the history of the Egyptians (a) for what concerns this expedition, and the consequences that attended it.

(b) Nabopolassar finding, that after the taking of Carchemish by Necho, all Syria and Palestine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in person to recover them, he made his son Nabuchodonosor partner with him in the empire, and sent him with an army, to reduce those countries to their former subjection.

From

<sup>(</sup>y) A. M. 3356. Ant. J. C. 648. Alex. Polyhift.
(z) A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626.
(a) Vol. I.
(b) Berof. apud Joseph. Antiq. 1. 10. c. 11. & con. Ap.
1. 1.

(c) From this time the Jews begin to reckon the years of Nabuchodonosor, viz, from the end of the third year of Jehosakim, king of Judah, or rather from the beginning of the fourth. But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.

(d) NABUCHODONOSOR II. This prince defeated Necho's army near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemish. From thence he marched towards Syria and Palestine, and

re-united those provinces to his dominions.

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(e) He likewise enter'd Judea, besieg'd Jerusalem, and took it: He caus'd Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a design to have him carry'd to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance and affliction, he restored him to his throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the rest, some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither all the treasures of the king's palace, and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple were likewise transported. Thus was the judgment God had denounc'd by the prophet Isaiah to king Hezekiah accomplished. From this samous epocha, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but eighteen years old, was carried captive among the rest; and Ezekiel some time afterwards.

(f) Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim died Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, after having reign'd one and twenty years. Assoon as his fon Nabuchodonosor had news of his death, he set out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the nearest way through the desart, attended only with a small retinue, leaving the bulk of his army with his generals, to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and spoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of

those

<sup>(</sup>c) A. M. 3398. Ant. J. C. 606. (d) Jer. xlvi. 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 7. (e) Dan. i. 1--7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7. (f) Can. Ptol. Berof, apud Joseph, Antiq. l, 10. c, 11. & con, Ap. l, 10.

those that had carefully preserv'd it for him, and so succeeded (g) to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Caldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, over which,

according to Ptolomy, he reigned forty-three years.

(b) In the fourth year of his reign he had a dream, at which he was greatly terrified, though he could not call it again to mind. He thereupon consulted the wisemen and diviners of his kingdom, requiring of them to make known to him the substance of his dream. They all answer'd, that it was beyond the reach of their art to divine the thing itfelf; and that the utmost they could do, was to give the interpretation of his dream, when he had made it known to them. As absolute princes are not accustomed to meet with opposition, but will be obey'd in all things, Nabuchodonofor, imagining they dealt infincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to die. Now Daniel and his three companions were included in the fentence, as being ranked among the wife men. But Daniel, having first invoked his God, defired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole substance of his dream. "The " thing thou fawest (says he to Nebuchadnezzar) was an " image of an enormous fize, and a terrible countenance. "The head thereof was of gold, the breast and arms of filver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the feet part of iron and part of clay. And as the king was attentively " looking upon that vision, behold a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and the stone smote the image " upon his feet, and brake them to pieces; the whole image " was ground as small as dust, and the stone became a great " mountain, and filled the whole earth." When Daniel had related the dream, he gave the king likewise the interpretation thereof, shewing him how it fignified the three great empires, which were to succeed that of the Assyrians, namely, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or (according to fome) that of the fuccessors of Alexander the great. ce ter these kingdoms (continued Daniel) shall the God of " heaven

"heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and this kingdom shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand for ever." By which Daniel plainly foretold the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Nebuchadnezzar, quite ravish'd with admiration and assonishment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared, that the God of the Israelites was really the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the highest offices in the kingdom, made him chief of the governours over all the wise men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council, that always attended the court. His three friends were also promoted to honours and dignities.

(b) At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon, whose generals, that were still in Judea, march'd against him, and committed all kinds of hossilities upon his country. He flept with his fathers, is all the scripture says of his death. Jeremiah had prophesied, that he should neither be regretted nor lamented; but should be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of ferusalem: This was no doubt sulfilled, though it is not

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\* Jechonias succeeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father. Nebuchadnezzar's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jerusalem, in three months time he himself came at the head of his army, and made himself master of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace of all their treasures, and sent them away to Babylon, together with all the golden vessels remaining, which Solomon had made for the use of the temple: he carried away likewise a vast number of captives, amongst whom was Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias, he set upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwise call'd Zedekiah.

(i) This prince had as little religion and prosperity as his

<sup>(</sup>b) 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2. (i) 2 Kings xxiv. 17--20, and xxi. 1--10.

<sup>\*</sup> Al. Jehoiakim. 2 Kings xxiv. 6-18.

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forefathers. Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter foon chastised him for it, and immediately laid fiege to Jerusalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army gave the belieged fome hopes; but their joy was very short-liv'd; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror return'd against Jerusalem, and renew'd the fiege, which lasted near a twelve-month. (k) At last the city was taken by fform, and a terrible flaughter enfued. Zedekiah's two fons were by Nebuchadnezzar's orders kill'd before their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judah. Zedekiah himfelf had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in prison as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burnt, and all their fortifications demolish'd.

(1) Upon Nebuchadnezzar's return to Babylon, after his fuccessful war against Judea, he order'd a golden statue to be made fixty \* cubits high, affembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his subjects to worship it, threatining to cast those that should refuse into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Upon this occasion it was, that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, who with an invincible courage refused to comply with the kings's impious ordinance, were preferved after a miraculous manner, in the midft of the flames. The king, himself a witness of this aftonishing miracle, published an edict, whereby all persons whatsoever were forbid, upon pain of death, to speak any thing amis against the God of Ananias, Misael, and Azarias: He likewise promoted these three young men to the highest honours and employments.

Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, march'd again into Syria, and besieg'd Tyre, at a time when Ithobal

(k) A. M. 3415, Ant, J. C. 589. (1) Dan, iii.

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was king thereof. Tyre was a strong and opulent city, which had never been subject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce; (m) by which many of its citizens were become like so many princes in wealth and magnificence. It was built by the Sidonians two hundred and forty years before the temple of Jerusalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of its inhabitants made their escape in ships, and sounded the city of Tyre. And for this reason we find it call'd in Isaiah, (n) the daughter of Sidon. But the daughter soon surpass'd the mother in grandeur, riches, and power. Accordingly, at the time we are speaking of, she was in a condition to resist thirteen years together a monarch, to whose yoke all the rest of the east had submitted.

(o) It was not till after so many years, that Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of Tyre. His troops suffer'd incredible hardship before it; so that, according to the prophet's
expression, (p) every bead was made bald, and every shoulder
was peeled. Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired, with the greatest part of their
effects, into a neighbouring isle, half a mile from the shore,
where they built a new city; the name and glory whereof
extinguished the remembrance of the old one, which from
thenceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of
antient Tyre.

(q) Nebucadnezzar and his army having undergone the utmost fatigues during so long and difficult a siege, and having
found nothing in the place to requite them for the service
they had render'd almighty God ('tis the expression of the
prophet) in executing his vengeance upon that city, to make
them amends, God was pleased to promise, by the mouth of
Ezekiel, that he would give them the spoils of Egypt. And
indeed Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt ioon after, as I have
more fully related in the history of the Egyptians. (r)

When

(n) Ezek. xxvi. 27. If. xxiii. 8. Just. 1. 18. c. 3.
(n) If. xxiii. 12.
(o) Jos. Antiq. 1. 10. c. 11. & con.
Ap. 1. 1.
(p) Ez. xxix. 18, 19.
(q) Ez. xxix.
18-20.
(r) Vol. I.

When this prince had happily finished all his wars, and was in a state of peace and tranquillity, he put the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing of Babylon. The reader may see in Josephus (s) an account of the magnificent structures ascrib'd to this monarch by several writers. I have mentioned a great part of them in the de-

scription already given of that stately city. (t) Whilst nothing seemed wanting to compleat Nebuchadnezzar's happiness, a frightful dream disturb'd his repose, and fill'd him with great Anxiety. He dreamed, " He faw " a tree in the midst of the earth, whose height was great: "The tree grew, and was firong, and the height of it of reached unto heaven, and the fight thereof to the end of " the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit much; " and in it was meat for all: The beafts of the field had " shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the " boughs thereof; and all flesh was fed of it. Then a " watcher and an holy one came down from heaven, and " cry'd; Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit; let the beafts get 46 away from under it, and the fowls from his branches, " Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even " with a band of Iron and brass, in the tender grass of the " field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let " his portion be with the beafts in the grass of the earth. "Let his heart be changed from man's; and let a beaft's " heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over if him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones, to the intent " that the living may know, that the most High ruleth in " the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomfoever he " will, and fetteth up over it the basest of men."

The king, justly terrified at this terrible dream, consulted all his wise men and magicians, but to no purpose. He was obliged to have recourse to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king's own person, plainly declaring to him, "That he should be driven from the company of men

<sup>(</sup>s) Antiq. 1. 10. c. 11. (t) Dan. c. iv.

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of men for "for seven years, should be reduced to the condition and fellowship of the beasts of the field, and feed upon grass like a bullock; that his kingdom nevertheless should be preserv'd for him, and he should re-posses his throne, when he should have learnt to know and acknowledge, that all power is from above, and cometh from heaven. After this he exhorted him to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor."

All these things came to pass upon Nebuchadnezzar, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he said, "Is not this great Baby-" lon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by "the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Would a secret impulse of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the sight of such noble structures erected by himself, appear to us so very criminal? And yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven, and pronounced this sentence: "In the same hour his understanding went from him; he was driven from men, and did eat grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles feathers, and "his nails like birds claws."

After the expiration of the appointed time, he recover'd his fenses, and the use of his understanding: "He listed up his eyes unto heaven (says the scripture) and blessed the Most High; he praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation:" Confessing, That all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will, in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What dost thou?" Now he recover'd his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to seek him; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than

ever. Being affected with the heartieft gratitude, he caufed by a folemn edict to be published, through the whole extent of his dominions, what aftonishing and miraculous things God had wrought in his person.

One year after this Nebuchadnezzar died, having reign'd forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greatest monarchs that ever reigned in the

east. He was succeeded by his son.

(a) EVIL-MERODACH. As foon as he was fettled in the throne, he releas'd Jechonias, king of Judah, out of prison. where he had been confined near feven and thirty years.

In the reign of this Evil-merodach, which lasted but two years, the learned place Daniel's detection of the fraud practifed by the priefts of Bel; the innocent artifice, by which he contriv'd to kill the dragon, which was worship'd as a god; and the miraculous deliverance of the same prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

(b) Evil-merodach render'd himself so odious by his dobauchery, and other extravagancies, that his own relations

conspired against him, and put him to death.

(c) NERIGLISSAR, his fifters hufband, and one of the

chief conspirators, reigned in his stead.

Immediately on his accession to the crown, he made great preparations for war against the Medes, which made Cyaxares fend for Cyrus out of Persia to his affistance. This story will be more particularly related by and by, where we shall find that this prince was flain in battle, in the fourth year of his reign.

(d) LABOROSOARCHOD, his fon, succeeded to the throne. This was a very wicked prince. Being born with the most vicious inclinations, he indulg'd them without restraint when he came to the crown; as if he had been invested with sovereign power, only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the most infamous and barbarous actions.

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(a) A. M. 3441. Ant. J. C. 562. 2 Kings xxv. 27--30. (b) Berof. Megasthen. (c) A. M. 3444. Ant, J. C. (d) A. M. 3448. Ibid. 560, Cyrop. 1, 1.

reigned but nine months; his own subjects conspiring against him put him to death. His successor was

(e) LABYNIT, or NABONID. This prince had likewise

other names, and in scripture that of Belshazzar.

'Tis reasonably supposed that he was the son of Evilmerodach, by his wife Nitocris, and consequently grandson to Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, the nations of the east were to be subject, as also to his son, and his grandson after him: (f) All nations shall serve him, and his son, and his

land shall come.

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(g) Nitocris is that queen who raised so many noble edifices in Babylon. She caused her own monument to be placed over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription, disfluading her successors from touching the treasures laid up in it, without the most urgent and indispensable necessity. The tomb remain'd unopen'd till the reign of Darius, who, upon his breaking it open, instead of those immense treasures he had slatter'd himself with, found nothing but the following inscription:

IF THOU HADST NOT AN INSATIABLE THIRST AFTER MONEY, AND A MOST SORDID, AVARICIOUS SOUL, THOU WOULD'ST NEVER HAVE BROKEN OPEN

THE MONUMENTS OF THE DEAD.

(b) In the first year of Belshazzar's reign, Daniel had the vision of the four beasts, which represented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Messiah, which was to succeed them. (i) In the third year of the same reign he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat, which presigur'd the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the great, and the persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, should bring upon the Jews. I shall hereaster make some restections upon these prophecies, and give a larger account of them.

(e) A. M. 3449. (f) Jer. xxvii. 7. (g) Her. l. 1. c. 185, &c. (b) Dan. c. vii. (i) c. viii.

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(k) Belshazzar, whilst his enemies were besieging Babylon, gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain festival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing. The joy of this feast was greatly disturb'd by a vision, and still more so by the explication, which Daniel gave of it to the king. The sentence written upon the wall imported, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. That very night the city was taken, and Belsshazzar kill'd.

(1) Thus ended the Babylonian empire, after having subfisted two hundred and ten years from the destruction of the

great Affyrian empire.

The particular circumstances of the fiege, and the taking of Babylon, shall be related in the history of Cyrus.

### CHAP. III.

The bistory of the kingdom of the Medes.

(m) I TOOK notice, in speaking of the destruction of the antient Assyrian empire, that Arbaces, general of the Medes, was one of the chief authors of the conspiracy against Sardanapalus: And several writers believe, that he then immediately became sovereign master of Media, and many other provinces, and assum'd the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I shall relate what that celebrated historian says upon the subject.

(n) The Affyrians, who had for many ages held the empire of Afia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of feveral nations. The Medes first threw off their yoke, and maintain'd for some time the liberty they had acquir'd by their valour: but that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they sell into a kind of anarchy, worse than their former subjection. Injustice, volence, and rapine, prevailed every-where, because there was no-body that had either power enough to

(k) Dan. c. v. (l) A. M. 3468, Ant. J. C. 536. (m) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. (n) Herod, l. 1. c. 95.

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restrain them, or sufficient authority to punish the offenders. But all these disorders induced the people to settle a form of government, which render'd the state more sourishing than ever it was before.

The nation of the Medes was then divided into tribes. Almost all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the state into a monarchy. This person seeing the great disorders that prevailed throughout all Media, resolved to take advantage of those troubles, and make them serve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He had a great reputation in his own country, and pass'd for a man, not only regular in his own conduct, but possess'd of all the prudence and equity necessary for a governor.

As foon as he had form'd the defign of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been observed in him more conspicuous than ever: he succeeded so well, that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himfelf with great prudence; and his cares had all the success expected from them; for he brought the people of that village to a fober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, whom perpetual diforders suffer'd not to live in quiet, obferving the good order Dejoces had introduced in the place where he prefided as judge, began to address themselves to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increasing, all such as had any affair of consequence, brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces, which they could meet with no-where elfe.

When he found himself thus far advanced in his designs, he judg'd it a proper time to set his last engines to work for the compassing his point. He therefore retired from business, pretending to be over-fatigued with the multitude of people, that resorted to him from all quarters; and would not exercise the office of judge any longer, notwithstanding all the importunity of such as wished well to the publick tranquil-

lity. Whenever any persons address'd themselves to him, he told them, that his own domestic affairs would not allow him

to attend those of other people.

The licentiousness, which had been for some time refirain'd by the management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, as soon as he had withdrawn himself from the administration of affairs; and the evil increas'd to such a degree, that the Medes were oblig'd to assemble, and deliberate upon the means of curing so dangerous a disorder.

There are different forts of ambition: Some violent and impetuous, carry every thing as it were by storm, sticking at no kind of cruelty or murder: Another fort more gentle, like that we are speaking of, puts on an appearance of moderation and justice, working under ground (if I may use that expression) and yet arrives at her point as surely as the

other.

Dejoces, who faw things succeeding according to his wish, fent his emiffaries to the affembly, after having instructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for stopping the course of the public evils came to be proposed, these emissaries, speaking in their turn, represented, that unless the face of the republick was entirely chang'd, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the present disorders was to elect a king, who should bave authority to restrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could profecute his own affairs in peace and fafety; whereas the injustice, that now reign'd in all parts, would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approv'd; and the whole company was convinc'd, that no expedient could be devis'd more effectual for curing the prefent evil, than that of converting the state into a monarchy. The only thing then to be done, was to chuse a king; and about this their deliberations were not long. They all agreed, there was not a man in Media so capable of governing as Dejoces; so that he was immediately with common consent elected king.

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If we reflect in the least on the first establishment of kingdoms, in any age or country whatfoever, we shall find, that the maintenance of order, and the care of the public good, was the original defign of monarchy. Indeed there would be no possibility of establishing order and peace, if all men were refolv'd to be independent, and would not submit to an authority, which takes from them a part of their liberty, in order to preferve the reft. Mankind must be perpetually at war, if they will always be striving for dominion over others, or refuse to submit to the strongest. For the sake of their own peace and fafety they must have a master, and must consent to obey him. This is the human origin of government. (ô) And the scripture teacheth us, that the divine providence has not only allow'd of the project, and the execution of it, but confecrated it likewife by an immediate communication of his own power.

There is nothing certainly nobler or greater, than to fee a private person, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the highest employments, and yet through inclination and modefly preferring a life of obscurity and retirement; than to fee fuch a man fincerely refuse the offer made to him, of reigning over a whole nation, and at last consent to undergo the toil of government, upon no other motive than that of being serviceable to his fellow citizens. His first disposition, by which as he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and confequently with the dangers annex'd to a fovereign power, shews him to have a foul more elevated and great than greatness itself; or, to speak more justly, a foul superior to all ambition: Nothing can shew him so perfectly worthy of that important charge, as the opinion he has of his not being fo, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he generously facrifices his own quiet and fatisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the public, 'tis plain he understands what that sovereign power has in it really good, or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of procuring it many advantages, and of redreffing various evils; of caufing

(o) Rom, xiii, 1, 2,

causing law and justice to flourish, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of establishing peace and plenty; And he comforts himself for the cares and troubles, to which he is exposed, by the prospect of the many benefits resulting from them to the public. Such a governour, was Numa at Rome, and such have been some other emperors, whom the people have constrain'd to accept the supreme power.

It must be own'd (I can't help repeating it) that there is nothing nobler or greater than such a disposition. But to put on the mask of modesty and virtue, in order to satisfy one's ambition, as Dejoces did; to affect to appear outwardly what a man is not inwardly; to refuse for a time, and then accept with a seeming repugnancy what a man earnestly desires, and what he has been labouring by secret under-hand practices to obtain: this double-dealing has so much meanness in it, that it necessarily lessens our opinion of the person, and extremely eclipses his merit, be his talents at the same time never so extraordinary.

(p) Dejoces reign'd fifty-three years. When Dejoces had ascended the throne, he endeavour'd to convince the people, that they were not mistaken in the choice they had made of him, for restoring of order. At first he resolv'd to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inspire an awe and respect for his person. He oblig'd his subjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he strongly fortisted, and chose out from among his people such persons as he judg'd sittest to be

After having thus provided for his own fecurity, he apply'd himself to polish and civilize his subjects, who having been accustomed to live in the country, and in villages, almost without laws and without polity, had contracted a favage disposition. To this end he commanded them to build a city, marking out himself the place and circumference of the walls. This city was compassed about with seven distinct walls, all disposed in such a manner, that the outermest did not hinder

(1) A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Her. l. 1. c. 96--101.

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hinder the parapet of the second from being seen, nor the second that of the third, and so of all the rest. The situation of the place was extremely favourable for such a design, for it was a regular hill, whose ascent was equal on every side. Within the last and smallest enclosure stood the king's palace, with all his treasures: In the sixth, which was next to that, there were several apartments for lodging the officers of his houshold; and the intermediate Spaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people: The first and largest enclosure was about the bigness of Athens. The name of this city was Ecbatana.

The prospect of it was magnificent and beautiful; for befides the disposition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours wherewith the several

parapets were painted, formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finished, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to settle in it, he turned all his thoughts to composing of laws for the good of the state. But being persuaded, that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off [major ex longinguo reverentia, Tacit.] he began to keep himself at a distance from his people; was almost inaccessible and invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak, or communicate their affairs to him, but only by petitions, and the interposition of his officers. And even those, that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor spit in his presence.

This great statesman acted in this manner, in order the better to secure to himself the possession of the crown. For, having to deal with men, yet unciviliz'd, and no very good judges of true merit, he was afraid, that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occasion plots and conspiracies against growing power, which is generally look'd upon with invidious and discontented eyes. But by keeping himself thus conceal'd from the eyes of the people, and making himself known only by the wife laws he made, and the strict justice he took care to administer to every one, he acquired the respect and esteem of all his subjects.

'Tis faid, that from the innermost part of his palace he faw every thing that was done in his dominions, by means of his emissaries, who brought him accounts, and informed him of all transactions. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stopped the course of violence and

injustice.

Things might possibly pass in this manner to a certain deeree during his administration: but there is nothing more obvious, than the great inconveniencies necessarily resulting from the custom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the rest of the Eastern potentates; the custom, I mean. of living concealed in his palace, of governing by spies dispersed throughout his kingdom, of relying solely upon their fincerity for the truth of facts; of not fuffering truth, the complaints of the oppressed, and the just reasons of innocent persons to be conveyed to him any other way, than through foreign channels, that is, by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted; men that stopped up all avenues to remonftrances, or the reparation of injuries, and that were capable of doing the greatest injustice themselves, with so much the more ease and affurance, as their iniquity remained undifcovered, and consequently unpunished. But besides all this methinks, that very affectation in princes of being invisible shews them to be conscious of their slender merit, which shuns the light, and dares not stand the test of a near examination.

Dejoces was wholly taken up in humanizing and fostening the manners, and in making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterprize against his neighbours, tho' his reign was very long, for he did not die till after having reigned fifty-three years.

(q) PHRAORTES reigned twenty-two years. After the death of Dejoces, his fon Phraortes, called otherwise \* Aphra-

(q) A. M. 3347. Ant. J. C. 657. Her. c. 102.

\* He is called so by Eusebius, Chron. Grac. and by Geor.
Syncel. Judith i. 1.

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artes, succeeded. The sole affinity between these two names would make one believe, that this is the king called in scripture Arphaxad: but that opinion has many other substantial reasons to support it, as may be seen in father Montsaucon's learned differtation, of which I have made great use in this treatise. The passage in Judith, That Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Echatana, has deceived most authors, and made them belive, that Arphaxad must be Dejoces, who was certainly the sounder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the vulgar translation renders adificavit, says only, (r) That Arphaxad added new buildings to Echatana. And what can be more natural, than that the father not having entirely perfected so considerable a work, the son should put the last hand to it, and make such additions as were wanting?

(s) Phraortes, being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, attack'd the Persians; and defeating them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. Then strengthened by the accession of their troops, he attacked other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the Upper Asia, which comprehends all that lies north of mount Taurus, from Media as far

as the river Halvs.

Elate with this good fuccess, he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, at that time indeed weakened thro' the revolt of several nations, but yet very powerful in themselves. Nabuchodonosor, their king, otherwise called Saosduchinus, raised a great army in his own country, and \* sent embassadors to several other nations of the east, to require their assistance. They all refused him with contempt, and ignominiously treated his embassadors, letting him see, that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greatest part of them in a slavish subjection.

The king, highly enraged at fuch infolent treatment, fwore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all those

<sup>(</sup>r) 'Ежихобо́рное е́мі 'Ексата́уоіс. Text. Gr. Her. l. 1, с. 102.

<sup>(</sup>s) Judith,

<sup>\*</sup> The Greek text places thefe embaffies before the battle,

those nations, and put them every one to the sword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau. A great battle ensued there, which proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned and put into disorder, and Nabuchodonosor gained a compleat victory. Then taking advantage of the defeat and confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquests even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and walls by storm, and gave the city to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered it, and stripped it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at last into the hands of Nabuchodonosor, who cruelly caused him to be shot to death with darts. After that, he returned to Niniveh with all his army, which was still very numerous; and for four months together did nothing but seast and divert himself with those that had ac-

companied him in this expedition.

In Judith we read that the king of Affyria fent Holophernes with a powerful army, to revenge himself of those that had refused him succours; the progress and cruelty of that commander, the general consternation of all the people, the courageous resolution of the Israelites to withstaad him, in hopes that their God would defend them, the extremity to which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the compleat overthrow of the Affyrian army are all related in the same book.

(t) CYAKARES I. reigned forty years. This prince fucceeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave, enterprizing prince, and knew how to make his advantage of the late overthrow of the Assyrian army. He first settled himself well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all Upper Asia. But what he had most at heart was, to go and attack Niniveh, to revenge the death of his father by the destruction of that great city.

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<sup>(</sup>t) A. M. 3369. Ant. J. C. 635. Herod. 1 1. c. 103-

Medes

The Affyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of that great army, which was destroyed before Bethulia. A battle ensued, wherein the Affyrians were defeated, and driven back to Niniveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid siege to the city, which was upon the point of falling inevitably into his hands, but that the time was not yet come when God designed to punish that city for her crimes, and for the calamities she had brought upon his people, as well as other nations. It was delivered from its present danger in the following manner.

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was still marching under the conduct of king Madves in pursuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to escape from the Scythians, who were advancing into Media. Cyaxares, hearing of this erruption, raifed the fiege from before Niniveh, and marched with all his forces against that mighty army, which, like an impetuous torrent, was going to over-run all Afia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquished. The Barbarians, finding no other obstacle in their way, over-spread not only Media. but almost all Asia. After that, they marched towards Egypt, from whence Psammiticus diverted their course by presents. They then returned into Palestine, where some of them plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, the most ancient temple dedicated to that goddess. Some of these Scythians fettled at Bethshean, a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which from them was afterwards

The Scythians for the space of twenty-eight years were masters of the Upper Asia, namely, the two Armenia's, Coppadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia; during which time they spread desolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of geting rid of them, but by a treacherous stratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and strengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was made in every samily. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the Scythians massacred. The

called Scythopolis.

Medes then repossessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their antient boundary westward.

(u) The remaining Scythians, who were not at the banquets, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia, to king Halyattes, who received them with great humanity. This occasioned a war between those two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the space of five years with almost equal advantage on both fides. The battle fought in the fixth year was very remarkable, on account of an eclipse of the fun, which happened during the engagement, when on a fudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Milesian, had foretold this eclipse. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a fign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both fides, and made peace. Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and \* Nabuchodonofor, king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render the friendship more firm and inviolable, the two princes agreed to ftrengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed, that Halyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Aftyages, eldeft fon of Cyaxares.

The manner these people had of contracting alliance with one another, is very remarkable. Besides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks, they had this in particular; the two contracting parties made themselves incisions in the arms, and licked one another's blood.

(x) Cyaxares's first care, as soon as he sound himself again in peace, was to resume the siege of Niniveh, which the erruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, join'd with him in a league against the Assyrians. Having therefore united their forces, they besieged Niniveh, took it, killed Saracus their king, and utterly destroyed that mighty city.

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(x) A. M. 3378. Ant.

(u) Her. 1. 1. c. 74.

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J. C. 626. Her. l. 1. c. 206.

\* In Herodotus be is called Labynetus.

God had foretold by his prophets, above an hundred years before, that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city for the blood of his fervants, wherewith the kings thereof had gorged themselves, like ravenous lions; that he himself would march at the head of the troops that should come to besiege it; that he would cause consternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the merciles hands of the soldiers; that all the treasures of the city should fall into the hands of rapacious and insatiable plunderers; and that the city itself should be so totally and utterly destroyed, that not so much as a footstep of it should be left; and that the people should ask hereaster, Where did the proud city of Niniveh stand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themselves: (y) Woe to the bloody city (cries Nahum) it is all full of lies and robbery: (2) He that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Israel. (a) I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the bounding chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword, and the glittering spear. (b) The shield of his mighty men is made red : the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall feem like torches, they shall run like the lightning. (c) God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? (d) Behold, I am against thee, faith the Lord of hosts: I will strip thee of all thy ornaments. (e) Take ye the spoil of filver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty, and void, and wafte. Niniveh is destroyed; the is overthrown; the is defolate. (f) The gates of the

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<sup>(</sup>y) Nahum iii. 1. (z) ii. 1, 2. (a) iii. 2, 3. (b) ii. 3, 4. (c) i. 2, 5, 6. (d) iii. 5. (e) ii. 9, 10. (f) ii. 6.

rivers shall be opened, and the \* palace shall be dissolved. And Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves tabring upon their breafts. (g) I fee a multitude of flain, and a great number of carcasses; and there is no end of their corpses: they stumble upon their corpses. + (b) Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion walked, and the lion's whelps, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine? (i) The Lord shall destroy Assur. He shall depopulate that city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a defart. It shall be a dwelling-place for wild beafts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein, Behold, shall it be said, see that proud city, which was fo stately, and so exalted; which said in her heart, I am the only city, and befides me there is no other. All they that pass by her shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hiffings and contemptuous gestures.

The two armies enriched themselves with the spoils of Niniveh: and Cyaxares profecuting his victories made himfelf master of all the cities of the kingdom of Assyria, except Babylon and Chaldea, which belonged to Nabopolaffar.

After this expedition Cyaxares died, and left his dominions

to his fon Aftyages.

(k) ASTYAGES reigned thirty-five years. This prince is called in scripture Ahasuerus. Though his reign was very long, no less than thirty-five years, yet have we no particulars

(i) Zephan. ii. (b) ii. II, 12. (g) iii. 3. (k) A. M. 3409. Ant. J. C. 595. 13=15.

renders it, Her temple is defroyed to the foundations." But I bave chosen to follow our English Bible, though in the Latin'tis templum.

This is a nable image of

\* The author in this place the cruel avarice of the Affyrian kings, wbo pillaged and plundered all their neighbouring nations, especially Judea, and carried away the spoils of them to Niniveb.

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of it recorded in history. He had two children, whose names are famous, namely Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandana, by a former marriage. In his father's life-time he married Mandana to Cambyses, the son of Achemenes, king of Persia: from this marriage sprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes.

CYAXARES II. This is the prince whom the fcripture

Cyrus, having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyles, he united the kingdoms of the Medes and the Persians into one: in the sequel therefore of this discourse they will be considered only as one empire. I shall begin the history of that empire with the reign of Cyrus: which will include also what is known of the reigns of his two predecessors, Cyaxares and Astyages. But I shall previously give some account of the kingdom of Lydia, because Cræsus, its king, has a considerable share in the events of which I am to speak.

## CHAP. IV.

(1) THE kings, who first reigned over the Lydians, are by Herodotus called Atyades, that is, descendants from Atys. These, he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the son of Atys; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who before his time were called Meconians.

These Atyades were succeeded by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who possessed this kingdom for the space of five hundred and five years.

(m) ARGO, great grandson of Alcæus, son of Hercules, was the first of the Heraclides, who reigned in Lydia.

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CANDAULES. This prince was married to a lady of exquisite beauty; and, being perfectly infatuated by his passion L z

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(1) Herod. 1. 1. c. 7—13. (m) A. M. 2781. Ant. J. C. 1223.

for her, was perpetually boafting of her charms to others. Nothing would ferve him, but Gyges, one of his chief officers, should see, and judge of them by his own eyes; \* as if the hulband's own knowledge of them was not fufficient for his happinels, or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his filence. The king to this end placed Gyges fecretly in a convenient place: but notwithstanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it; judging, as the historian represents it, that the most valuable treasure of a woman is her modesty, she studied a fignal revenge for the injury she had received; and, to punish the fault of her husband, committed a still greater crime. Possibly a fecret passion for Gyges had as great share in that action, as the refentment for the dishonour done her, Be that as it will, the fent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime either by his own death, or the king's, at his own option. After some remonstrances to no purpose, he resolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules (n) became master of his queen and his throne. By this means the kingdom paffed from the family of the Heraclidæ into that of the Mermnades.

Archilochus, the poet, lived at this time, and, as Herodotus informs us, spoke of this adventure of Gyges in his

poems,

I can't forbear mentioning in this place what is related by Herodotus, that amongst the Lydians, and almost all other Barbarians, it was reckoned shameful and infamous, even for a man to appear naked. These footsteps of modesty, which are met with amongst pagans, ought to be reckoned valuable. We t are affured, that among the Romans a fon, who was

(n) A. M. 3286. Ant. J. C. 718.

\* Non contentus voluptatum fuarum tacita conscientia-prorfus quali filentium neris verecundia, præfertim damnum pulchritudinis effet. Juftin. 1, 1. c. 7.

† Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum foceris generi, non lavantur, Retinenda est igitur hujus genatura ipfa magistra & duce. Cic. 1. 1. de Offic. n. 129.

Nudare se nefas effe credebatur, Val. Max. 1. 2. c. 1.

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\* ] habea licere come to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a fon-in-law with his father-in-law; and this modesty and decency were looked upon by them as a law of nature, the violation whereof was criminal. This association, that amongst us our magistrates take no care to prevent this disorder, which, in the midst of Paris, at the season of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a disorder so visibly contrary to the rules of common decency, so dangerous to young persons of both sexes, and so severely con-

demned by paganifm itself.

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(o) Plato relates the story of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus. He tells us, that Gyges wore a ring, the stone of which, when turned towards him, rendered him invisible; so that he had the advantage of seeing others, without being seen himself; and that by means of this ring, with the concurrence of the queen, he deprived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably signifies, that, in order to compass his criminal design, he used all the tricks and stratagems, the world calls subtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the most secret purposes of others, without making the least discovery of its own. This story thus explained carries in it a greater appearance of truth, than what we read in Herodotus.

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, \* that if a wife man had fuch a ring, he would not use it to any wicked purpose; because virtue considers what is honourable and just, and has no occasion for darkness.

(p) Gyers reigned thirty-eight years. The murder of Candaules raifed a fedition among the Lydians. The two parties, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphick oracle, which declared in favour

<sup>(</sup>o) Plato de Rep. l. 2. p. 359. (c) A. M. 3286. Ant. J. C. 718. Her. l. 1. c. 13, 14.

<sup>\*</sup> Hunc ipsum annulum si non haberet. Honesta enim habeat sapiens, nihilo plus sibi bonis viris, non occulta quælicere putet peccare, quam si runtur. Lib. 3. de Offic. n. 38.

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favour of Gyges. The king made large prefents to the temple of Delphos, which undoubtedly preceded, and had no little influence upon the oracle's answer. Among other things of value Herodotus mentions fix golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amounting to near a million of French money, which is about forty-eight thousand pounds sterling.

As foon as he was in peaceable polletion of the throne, he made war against Miletos, Smyrna, and Colophon, three

powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states.

After having reigned thirty-eight years, he died, and was

fucceeded by his fon.

(q) Ardys reign'd 49 years, 'Twas in the reign of this prince, that the Cimmerians, driven out of their country by the Scythæ Nomades, went into Asia, and took the city of

Sardis, but not the citadel.

(r) SADYATTES reign'd 12 years. This prince declared war against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In those days the sieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and lasted many years. This king died before he had finish'd that of Miletos,

and was fucceded by his fon.

(s) HALYATTES reign'd 57 years. This is the prince, who made war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia. He attack'd, and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorously profecuted the war against the Milesians, begun by his father; and continued the siege of their city, which had lasted six years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner: Halyattes, upon an answer he received from the Delphic oracle, had sent an embassador into the city, to propose a truce for some months. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletos, having notice of his coming, preder'd all the corn and other provisions, assembled by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the public

<sup>(</sup>q) Her. c. 15. A. M. 3324. Ant. J. C. 680. (r) A. M. 3373, Ant. J. C. 621. (s) Her. c. 16, 22. A. M. 3385. Ant. J. C. 619. Her. l. 1. c. 21, 22.

lic market; and commanded the citizens, at the fight of a fignal that should be given, to be all in a general humour of feaffing and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambaffador, at his arrival was in the utmost surprise to see such a plenty in the market, and such chearfulness in the city. His master, to whom he gave an account of what he had feen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never fucceed, prefer'd peace to fo fruitless a war, and immediately raised the siege.

(t) CROESUS. His very name, which is become a proverb, carries in it an idea of immense riches. The wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the presents he made to the temple of Delphos, must have been excessively great. Most of those presents were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth several millions. (#) We may partly account for the treasures of this prince, from certain mines that he had, fituate, according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarnes; as also from the little river Pactolus, the fand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time this river had not the same advantage.

(x) This uncommon affluence, which is a thing extraordinary, did not enervate or foften the courage of Croefus. He thought it unworthy of a prince to spend his time in idleness and pleasure. For his part, he was perpetually in arms, made feveral conquefts, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, as Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus observes, that he was the first conqueror of the Greeks, who till then had never been subject to a foreign power. Doubtless he must mean the Greeks settled in Asia Minor.

But, what is still more extraordinary in this prince, tho' he was so immensely rich, and so great a warriour, yet his chief delight was in literature and the sciences. His court was the ordinary residence of those famous learned men, so revered

<sup>(</sup>t) A. M. 3442. Ant. J.C. 562. (u) Strab. 1. 13. p. 625. & l. 14. p. 680. (x) Her. 1. 1, c. 16--28.

revered by antiquity, and diffinguished by the name of the feven wife men of Greece.

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(y) Solon, one of the most celebrated amongst them, after having established new laws at Athens, thought he might absent himself for some years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis, where he was received in 2 manner suitable to the reputation of so great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appear'd in all his regal pomp and splendor, dress'd in the most magnificent apparel, which was all over enrich'd with gold, and glitter'd with diamonds. Notwithstanding the novelty of this spectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was the least moved at it, or that he utter'd a word which discovered the least furprize or admiration; on the contrary, people of fense might fufficiently difcern from his behaviour, that he look'd upon all this outward pomp, as an indication of a little mind, which knows not in what true greatness and dignity confists. This coldness and indifference in Solon's first approach gave the king no favourable opinion of his new guest.

He afterwards order'd all his treasures, his magnificent apartments, and costly furniture should be shew'd him; as if he expected by the multitude of his sine vessels, diamonds, statues, and paintings, to conquer the philosopher's indisserence. But these things were not the king; and 'twas the king that Solon was come to visit, and not the walls or chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgment of the king, or an estimate of his worth, by these outward appendages, but by himself and his own personal qualities. Were we to judge at present by the same rule, we should find many of our great men wretchedly naked and desolate.

When Solon had feen all, he was brought back to the king. Cræfus then afk'd him, which of mankind in all his travels he had found the most truly happy. "One Tellus (replied Solon) a citizen of Athens, a very honest and good man, who had liv'd all his days without indigence, had

<sup>(</sup>y) Her. l. 1. c. 29--33. Plut. in Sol. p. 93, 94.

had always feen his country in a flourishing condition, had children that were univerfally effected, with the fatisfaction of feeing those childrens children, and at last died

" gloriously in fighting for his country."

Such an answer as this, in which gold and filver were accounted as nothing, feemed to Cræfus to argue a strange ignorance and stupidity. However, as he flatter'd himself of being rank'd in the fecond degree of Happiness, he asked him, " who, of all those he had seen, was the next in feli-" city to Tellus." Solon answer'd, " Cleobis and Biton, " of Argos, two brothers, \* who had left behind them a " perfect pattern of fraternal affection, and of the respect due " from children to their parents. Upon a folemn festival, " when their mother, a priestess of Juno, was to go to the " temple, the oxen that were to draw her not being ready, " the two fons put themselves to the yoke, and drew their " mother's chariot thither, which was above five miles " distant. All the mothers of the place, ravished with ad-" miration, congratulated the priestess on the piety of her fons. She in the transports of her joy and thankfulness " earnestly intreated the goddess to reward her children with " the best thing that heaven can give to man. Her prayers "were heard. When the facrifice was over, her two fons " fell assep in the very temple, and there + died in a soft and peaceful flumber. In honour of their piety, the peo-" ple of Argos confecrated statues to them in the temple of " Delphos."

"What then (fays Cræsus, in a tone that shewed his discretion of the content) you don't reckon me in the number of the happy?" Solon, who was not willing either to flatter, or exasperate him any further, reply'd calmly; "King of Lydia, besides many other advantages, the gods have given us Grecians a spirit of moderation and reserve, which hath produced amongst us a plain, popular kind of philosophy, accompanied with a certain generous freedom, void

<sup>\*</sup> Didadedese no Didopintopas deapeportus and pas.

† The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cause of it.

of pride or oftentation, and therefore not well fuited to " the courts of kings: This philosophy, confidering what an infinite number of viciffitudes and accidents the life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to glory in any " prosperity we enjoy ourselves, or to admire happiness in others, which perhaps may prove only transient, or fuper-From hence he took occasion to represent to him further, " That the life of man feldom exceeds feventy years, " which make up in all fix thousand two hundred and fifty days, of which two are not exactly alike: fo that the time to come is nothing but a feries of various accidents which cannot be foreseen. Therefore, in our opinion (continued " he) no man can be esteemed happy, but he whose happi-" ness God continues to the end of his life: As for others, " who are perpetually exposed to a thousand dangers, we account their happiness as uncertain, as the crown is " to a person that is still engaged in battle, and has not yet " obtained the victory." Solon retired, when he had spoken these words, \* which served only to mortify Cræsus, but not to reform him.

Æsop, the author of the fables, was then at the court of this prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandsome treatment Solon received, and faid to him by way of advice; † " Solon, we must ei-"ther not come near princes at all, or speak things that are " agreeable to them. Say rather (reply'd Solon) that we " should either never come near them at all, or else speak " fuch things as may be for their good."

In Plutarch's time, some of the learned were of opinion, that this interview between Solon and Cræsus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as those dates are very

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† Ω Σόλων (con) τοις ws no isa, which is a beauty

uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail against the authority of several credible writers, by whom this story is attested.

What we have now related of Cræsus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the most part are seduced by flattery; and shews us at the same time the two sources from whence that blindness generally proceeds. The one is, a secret inclination which all men have, but especially the great, of receiving praise without any precaution, and of judging savourably of all that admire them, or shew an unlimited submission and complaisance to their humours. The other is, the great resemblance there is between flattery and a sincere affection, or a reasonable respect; which is sometimes counterseited so exactly, that the wisest may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Cræsus, if we judge of him by the character he bears in history, was a very good prince, and worthy of esteem in many respects. He had a great deal of good-nature, affability and humanity. His palace was a receptacle for men of wit and learning; which shews, that he himself was a person of learning, and had a taste for the sciences. His weakness was, that he laid a great stress upon riches and magnificence, thought himself great and happy in proportion to his possessions, mistook regal pomp and splendor for true and solid greatness, and fed his vanity with the excessive submissions of those, that stood in a kind of adoration before him

Those learned men, those wits and other courtiers, that furrounded this prince, eat at his table, partook of his pleafures, shared his confidence, and enriched themselves by his bounty and liberality; took care not to differ from the prince's taste, and never thought of undeceiving him, with respect to his errors, or false ideas. On the contrary, they made it their business to cherish and fortify them in him, extolling him perpetually as the most opulent prince of his age, and never speaking of his wealth, or the magnificence of his palace, but in terms of admiration and rapture; be-

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cause they knew this was the fure way to please him, and to fecure his favour. For flattery is nothing else but a commerce of falshood and lying, founded upon interest on one side, and vanity on the other. The flatterer defires to advance himself, and make his fortune; the prince to be praised and admired, because he is his own first flatterer, and carries within himself a more subtle and better prepared poison than

any adulation gives him.

That faying of Æsop, who had formerly been a slave, and still retained somewhat of the spirit and character of flavery, though he had varnished it over with the address of an artful courtier; that faying of his, I fay, to Solon, "That we should either not come near kings, or say what is agree-" able to them," flews us with what kind of men Cræsus had filled his court, and by what means he had banished all fincericy, integrity, and duty, from his presence. Therefore we fee he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philosopher, upon which he ought to have fet an infinite value; as he would have done, had he but understood the worth of a friend, who, attaching himself to the person, and not to the fortune of a prince, has the courage to tell him disagreeable truths; truths unpalatable, and bitter to felf-love at the prefent, but that may prove very falutary and serviceable for the future. Die illis, non quod volunt audire, sed quod audisse semper volent. These are Seneca's words, where he is endeavouring to shew, of what great use a faithful and fincere friend may be to a prince: and what he adds further feems to be writ on purpose for Cræsus: \* " Give " him (fays he) wholesome advice. Let a word of truth " once reach those ears, which are perpetually fed and enter-46 tained with flattery. You'll ask me, what service can be ec done

\* Plenas aures adulationibus aliquando vera vox intret : da confilium utile. Quieris, quid felici præstare dedit casus; ac sæpe inter forpostis? Effice, ne facilitati fuæ credat. Parum in illum contuleris, si illi semel stul-

tam fiduciam permanfuræ femper potentize excusseris, docuerisque mobilia esse qua tunam maximam & ultimam nihil interesse. Sen de benef. 1. 6. c. 33.

"done to a person arrived at the highest pitch of selicity?

"It will teach him not to trust in his prosperity; it will remove that vain considence he has in his power and greatness, as if they were to endure for ever; make him understand, that every-thing, which belongs to and depends
upon fortune, is as unstable as herself; and that there is
often but the space of a moment between the highest elevation and the most unhappy downfal."

(b) It was not long before Cræsus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him. He had two fons; one of which being dumb, was a perpetual subject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was distinguished by every good quality, and his great confolation and delight. The father dream'd one night, which made a great impression upon his mind. that this beloved fon of his was to perish by iron. This became a new fource of anxiety and trouble, and care is taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partizans, lances, javelins, &c. No mention is made of armies, wars, or fieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match, for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravage in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earnestly-importuned his father. that he would give him leave to be present, at least as a spectator. The king could not refuse him that request, but let him go under the care of a discreet young prince, who had taken refuge in his court, and was named Adrastus. And this very Adrastus, as he was aiming to sling his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. 'Tis impossible to express either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of the unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murther, who expiated his fault with his blood, flabbing himfelf in the breast with his own sword, upon the funeral-pile of the unfortunate Atys,

(b) Her. l. 1. c. 34-45.

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(c) Two years were spent on this occasion in deep mours. ing, the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loss he had sustained. But the growing reputation, and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himfelf known, rouzed him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a stop to the power of the Persians, which was enlarging itself every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter upon any enterprise, without confulting the gods. But, that he might not act blindly, and to be able to form a certain judgment of the answers he should receive, he was willing to affure himself before-hand of the truth of the oracles. For which purpose, he sent messengers to all the most celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to enquire, every one at his respective oracle, what Cræsus was doing on such a day, and such an hour, before agreed on. His orders were punctually obferved; and of all the oracles, none gave a true answer but that of Delphos. The answer was given in Greek hexameter verses, and was in substance as follows: I know the number of the grains of sand on the sea-shore, and the measure of the ocean's vast extent. I can bear the dumb, and bim that bas not yet learnt to speak. A strong smell of a tortoise boiled in brafs, together with fleep's fleft, bas reached my noftrils, brass beneath, brass above. And indeed the king, thinking to invent fomething that could not possibly be guess'd at, had employed himself, on the day and hour set down, in boiling a tortoise and a lamb in a brass pot, which had a brass cover. St. Austin observes in several places, that God, to punish the blindness of the Pagans, sometimes permitted the devils to give answers conformable to the truth.

Cræsus, thus assured of the god's veracity, whom he defigned to consult, offered three thousand victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of vessels, tripods, and golden tables, to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of an hundred and seventeen, to augment the treasures of the Delphic temple. Each of these in-

gots weighed at least two talents; besides which, he made several other presents: amongst others, Herodetus mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two vessels of an extraordinary bigness, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and an half, and twelve mina's; the other of silver, which contained six hundred of the measures called amphora's. All these presents, and many more, which for brevity's sake I omit, were to be seen in the time of Herodotus.

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The messengers were order'd to consult the god upon two points; first, whether Creesus should undertake a war against the Persians; secondly, if he did, whether he should require the succour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle answered upon the first article, that if he carried his arms against the Persians, he would subvert a great empire; upon the second, that he would do well to make alliances with the most powerful states of Greece. He consulted the oracle again, to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The answer was; it should subsist till a mule came to possess the throne of Media; which he construed to signify the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Pursuant to the direction of the oracle, Croesus enter'd into alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pisistratus at their head, and with the Lacedemonians, who were indisputably the two most powerful states of Greece.

(d) A certain Lydian, much efteemed for his prudence, gave Cræsus on this occasion very judicious advice. "O prince, (says he to him) why do you think of "turning your arms against such a people as the Persians, "who, being born in a wild, rugged country, are in"ur'd from their infancy to every kind of hardship and fatigue, who being coarsely clad, and coarsely fed, can content themselves with bread and water; who are absolute strangers to all the delicacies and conveniencies of life; who, in a word, have nothing to lose, if you conquer them, and every-thing to gain, if they conquer M 2

have never put it into the heads of the Perfians to " come and attack the Lydians." But Croesus had taken his refolution, and would not be diverted from it.

What remains of the history of Cræsus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I am now going to begin.

the Perfunction of the did, which we thought require the fraction of any good are around. upon the first refere that it to confer to the conference Perfectly he would find over a great while government the cond, that would do well to make all said with the there say by the the state of the land the same than



gwe a Crostas and this error were where our atrice. "O prace, this as to that why do you think of " turners your again season a people as the Perhans, sai on , ritter thereof this a ri and paled other ! " ut d them days in new to svery let a en harding and C fatigue, who thindecourfely clas, one country fed, kan ats only a source long I brend while and heards deprines " " whalers the gere to all the delication and conveniencies

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## Laving always looked upon this great man as, worthy of admiration, I took a Bellet To mirro, myfelf of his

# birth, bir ne wel temper, and concation that I raight the known that I raight the griph and room that bas been told me."

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# PERSIANS and MEDES,

## she order to see the second of America, who was a great

Containing the reigns of CYRUS, of CAMBYSES, and SMERDIS the Magus.

These three reigns will be the subject matter of the fourth book. But as the two latter are very short, and contain few important facts, this book, properly speaking, may be call'd the history of Cyrus.

#### recoleration of the rest of the plant of the above

The biffory of Cyrus.

HE history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit in this respect than the former. As to those facts wherein they differ, I shall briefly relate what Herodotus says of them. Tis well known, that Kenophon served a long time under

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Cyrus the younger, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, confidering how curious he was, did often converse, that he might acquaint himself by their means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince, who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his Cyropædia: "Having always look'd upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure to inform myself of his birth, his natural temper, and education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince: and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me."

As to what Cicero fays, in his first letter to his brother Quintus, " That \* Xenophon's defign, in writing the hi-" flory of Cyrus, was not fo much to follow truth, as to give a model of a just government;" this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the defign of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some fentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates are to be deemed true; and of this their conformity with the holy scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may fee the differtation of the abbot Banier upon this subject, in the (e) Memoirs of the academy of polite literature.

For the greater clearness, I divide the history of Cyrus into three parts. The first will reach from his birth to the fiege

#### (e) Vol. 6. p. 400.

<sup>\*</sup> Cyrus ille à Xenophonte, non ad historiæ fidem seriptus, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.

of Babylon: The second will comprehend the description of the siege, and the taking of that city, with every thing else that relates to that great event: The third will contain that prince's history, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

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### ARTICLE I Lund of the only saw

The bistory of Cyrus from his infancy to the siege of Babylon.

THIS interval, besides his education, and the journey he made to his grand-father Astyages in Media, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

## SECT, I. Cyrus's education.

(f) CYRUS was the fon of Cambyles, king of Persia, and of Mandana, daughter to Astyages, king of the Medes. (g) He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandana.

The Persians consisted at this time of twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vast country, which has since borne the name of Persia, and were not in all above an hundred and twenty thousand men. But this people having afterwards, thro' the wisdom and valour of Cyrus, acquir'd the empire of the east, the name of Persia extended itself with their conquests and fortune, and comprehended all that vast tract of land, which reaches from east to west, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to south, from the Caspian sea to the ocean. And still to this day the country of Persia has the same extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his person, and still more lovely for the qualities of his mind; was of a very sweet disposition, full of good-nature and humanity, had a great defire to learn, and a noble ardor for glory. He was never asraid of any danger, or discouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where ho-

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<sup>(</sup>f) Xen. Cyrop. 1, 1. p. 3. (g) A, M. 3405, Ant, J. C. 599.

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nour was to le acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians, which were excellent in

those days, with respect to education.

(b) The public good, the common benefit of the nation. was the only principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was look'd upon as the most important duty, and the most essential Part of Government : It was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whose blind affection and fondness often render them incapable of that office; but the ftate took it upon themselves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner; where every-thing was regulated, the place and length of their exercises, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children, or the young men, was bread, creffes, and water: for their defign was to accustom them early to temperance and fobriety: Befides, they confider'd, that a plain frugal diet, without any mixture of fauces or ragoo's, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war to a good old age, w bos prised to ome a de sino destin

Here boys went to school, to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences; and the crime most severely punished amongst them, was ingrati-

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The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced how much better it is to prevent faults, than to punish them: And whereas in other states the legislators are satisfied with establishing punishments for criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals amongst them.

Till fixteen or seventeen years of age the boys remain'd in the class of children; and here it was they learnt to draw the bow, and to fling the dart or javelin; after which they were received into the class of young men. In this they were more

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narrowly watch'd, and kept under, than before, because that age requires the narrowest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they passed all their Nights in keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure them to satigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up, and form'd; and in this they remained five and twenty years. Out of these all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the public council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

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By this means every citizen might aspire at the chief posts in the government; but not one could arrive at them, till he had passed through all these several classes, and made himself capable of them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all; but generally such only, as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

(i) Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age, not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.

### SECT. II. Cyrus's journey to his grandfather Astyages, and his return into Persia.

HEN Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandana took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Aftyages, who, from the many things he had heard faid in favour of that young prince, had a great defire to fee him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence reign'd here universally. Aftyages himself was richly

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richly cloath'd, had his \* eyes colour'd, his face painted, and his hair embellish'd with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be dreft in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the Perfians were very plain and coarse. All this finery did not affect Cyrus, who, without criticifing or condemning what he faw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained every-body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may

judge of the reft.

Aftyages, to make his grandfon unwilling to return home, made a fumptuous entertainment, in which there was a vaft plenty, and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation Cyrus look'd upon with great indifference: at which observing Aftyages to be furprifed: " The Perfians (fays he to the "king) instead of going such a round-about way to appeale "their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a lit-" tle bread and creffes with them answer the purpose." Aftyages defiring Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mo-

\* The antients, in order to fet off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexions, used to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater lustre to their eyes, they made their eye-lashes of the same blackness. This artifice was much in use among the Hebrews. "Tis faid of Jezebel; Depinxit

oculos fuos flibio, 2 Kings ix. 30. This Drug bad an aftringent quality, which shrunk up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckon'd a beauty, Plin. 1. 33. c. 6. From bence comes that epithet, which Homer fo often gives to bis goddesses : Boomis How great-ey'd Juno.

ther. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, befides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he defired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to shew his resentment. Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect of this officer, for whom he had a particular confideration, and who deferved it, as he faid, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he ferved him: " Is that " all, papa? (replied Cyrus) if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I'll quickly obtain it; for I'll take upon me to serve you better than he." Immediately Cyrus is equip'd as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a ferious countenance, a napkin upon his floulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace, that charm'd both Aftyages and Mandana. When he had done, he flung himfelf upon his grandfather's neck, and kiffing him, cry'd out with great joy; \* " O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art undone; " I shall have thy place." Astyages embraced him with . great fondness, and said : "I am mighty well pleased, my " dear child: nobody can ferve with a better grace: but you " have forgot one effential ceremony, which is that of " tafting." And indeed the cup-bearer was used to pour fome of the liquor into his left-hand, and to tafte it, before he presented it to the king. " No (reply'd Cyrus) it was " not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony. "Why then (fays Aftyages) for what reason did you do it? " Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor. " Poison, child? how could you think so? Yes; poison, " papa: for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to " the lords of your court, after the guests had drank a little " of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turn'd: " they fung, made a noise, and talk'd they did not know " what, you yourfelf feem'd to have forgot you were king, and and

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and they that they were subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs. Why

(fays Affyages) have you never feen the fame thing happen

"to your father? No, never (fays Cyrus.) What then?

" how is it with him when he drinks? Why, when he

" has drank, his thirst is quenched; and that's all."

We cannot too much admire the skill of the historian, in his giving such an excellent lesson of sobriety in this story. He might have done it in a serious, grave way, and have spoken with the air of a philosopher: for Xenophon, as much a warriour as he was, yet was he as excellent a philosopher as his master Socrates. But instead of that, he puts the instruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a story, which in the original is told with all the wit and agreeableness imaginable.

Mandana being upon the point of returning to Perfia, Cyrus joyfully comply'd with the repeated instances his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of the country, and its craggy mountainous situation, render'd it unsit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his refidence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and efteem. He was gentle, affable, officious, beneficent and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their sollicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his; and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about fixteen years of age, the fon of the king of the \* Babylonians (this was Evil-merodac, fon of Nebuchad-

found with those of Niniweh, whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Niniweh, the capital thereof.

<sup>\*</sup> In Xenophon this people are always called Assyrians; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not con-

Nebuchadnezzar) at a hunting-match a little before his marriage, thought fit, in order to shew his bravery, to make an eruption into the territories of the Medes: which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved himself so well on this occasion, that the victory, which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour.

(k) The year after, his Father recalling him, that he might accomplish his Time in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion shewed how much he was belov'd. At his departure he was accompanied by all forts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horseback; and when the sad moment came, that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-enter'd the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long refidence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners. But when they found that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class of youths; and there it quickly appeared, that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience, and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the mens class, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

(k) A. M. 3421. Ant. J C. 583.

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SECT. III. The first campaign of Cyrus, who goes to succour bis uncle Cyaxares against the Babylonians.

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A STYAGES, king of the Medes, dying, was fucceeded by his fon Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother. Cyaxares was no sooner in the throne, but he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed, that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged feveral princes on his fide, and amongst others Creesus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent embassadors to the king of India, to give him bad Impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations already so powerful might be, fince they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power, Cyaxares therefore dispatched embassadors to Cambyses, to defire fuccours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to fend. This was readily granted. As foon as it was known, that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, all infantry (for the Persians as yet had no cavalry;) but they were all chosen men, and fuch as had been raised after a particular manner. First of all Cyrus chose out of the nobility two hundred of the bravest officers, each of which was ordered to chuse out four more of the same fort, which made a thousand in all: and these were the officers that were called \* 'O μότιμοι, and who fignalized themselves afterwards fo gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten lightarmed pike-men, ten flingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to one and thirty thousand men.

Before they proceeded to this choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the two hundred officers, whom, after having

\* Men of the same dignity.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cyrop. 1. 1. c. 22-27. A. M. 3444. Ant, J. C. 560.

having highly praised for their courage, he inspired with the firongest affurance of victory and success. "Do you know " (fays he to them) the nature of the enemy you have to " deal with? they are foft, effeminate, enervated men, al-" ready half conquer'd by their own luxury and voluptuous-" ness; men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equal-" ly incapable of supporting either the toil of war, or the " fight of danger: whereas you, that are inured from your " infancy to a fober and hard way of living; to you, I fay, " hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce to " your meals; fatigues are your pleafure, dangers your de-" light, and the love of your country and of glory your only " passion. Besides, the justice of our cause is another con-" fiderable advantage. They are the aggreffors. 'Tis the " enemy that attacks us, and 'tis our friends and allies that " require our aid. Can any thing be more just, than to regel " the injury they would bring upon us? Is there any thing " more honourable, than to fly to the affiftance of our " friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your " confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition, with-" out having first consulted the gods, and implored their " protection: for you know 'tis my custom to begin all my " actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner."

(m) Soon after, Cyrus fet out without loss of time : but before his departure, he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without confulting the divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyfes had often taught him to confider, that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin: whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as past, and inspire those that love to undertake what is most expedient for them; which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to those that invoke and confult them.

Cambyfes

(m) A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559.

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Cambyfes accompanied his fon as far as the frontiers of Perfia; and in the way gave him excellent inftructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing, that related to the business of war, after the many lessons he had received from the most able mafters of that time. " Have your mafters (fays Cambyles to him) given you any instructions concerning economy, that is to fay, concerning the manner of supplying an army " with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and " preferving the health of the foldiers, of fortifying their bodies by frequent exercises, of exciting a generous emula-" tion amongst them, of making yourself obey'd, esteem'd " and belov'd by your foldiers?" Upon each of these points, and upon feveral others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. "What is it then your mafters have taught you? They have taught me to fence (replied the orince) to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range " troops in order of battle, to review them, to fee them " march, file off, and encamp." Cambyses, smiling, gave his fon to understand, that they had taught him nothing of what was most material and effential for a good officer, and an expert commander, to know . And in one fingle conversation, which certainly deserves to be well studied by all young gentlemen defigned for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all his celebrated mafters had done, in the course of feveral years. I shall give but one short instance of his discourse, which may serve to give the reader an idea of the reft.

The question was, what are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive? "The way to essect that (says Cyrus) seems to be very easy, and very certain; "its only to praise and reward those that obey, to punish and stigmatize such as fail in their duty. You say well (replied Cambyses;) that is the way to make them obey you by force, but the chief point is to make them obey you willingly

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willingly and freely. Now the fure method of effecting " this is, to convince those you command, that you know " better what is for their advantage, than they do themfelves: for all mankind readily submit to those, of whom " they have that opinion. This is the principle, from whence " that blind fubmission proceeds, which you see fick persons " pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and a fhip's company to the pilot. Their obedience is only " founded upon their persuation, that the physician, the " guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and know-" ing in their respective callings, than themselves. "what shall a man do (says Cyrus to his father) to appear " more skilful and expert than others? He must really be so " (replied Cambyles;) and in order to be fo, he must apply " himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules " of it, confult the most able and experienced masters, neglect " no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his " enterprises; and above all, he must have recourse to the " protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all " our wisdom, and all our success."

(n) As foon as Cyrus had reach'd Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the forces on both fides. It appeared, by the computation made of them, that the enemies army amounted to two hundred thousand foot, and fixty thousand horse; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarce amounted to half the number of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not fo many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient, than to fend for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, befides that it would have taken too much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more fure and more expeditious; which was, that his Persian foldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly N 3 used

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used the bow and the javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser. Cyrus was of opinion, that they should be armed with such weapons, as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was mightily ap-

proved, and instantly put in execution.

(o) Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops, and inspired them with a surprizing emulation, by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. As for money, the only value he let upon it was to give it away. He was continually making prefents to one or other, according to their rank, or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a fword or fomething of the same kind equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of foul, and beneficent disposition, he thought a general ought to diffinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his cloaths, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour. " (p) A com-" mander could not (he faid) give actual proofs of his munior ficence to every-body, and for that very reason he thought " himself obliged to convince every-body of his inclination " and good-will; for though a prince might exhaust his treafures by making prefents, yet he could not injure himself " by benevolence and humanity; by being fincerely concerned

" in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making

" it appear that he is fo."

(q) One day, as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him, that some embassadors being arrived from the king of the Indies, he defired his presence immediately. "For that purpose (says he) I have brought you a rich garment, for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour." Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops, to wait upon the king;

<sup>(</sup>e) Ibid. p. 44. (p) Ibid. 1. 8. p. 207. (9) P. 56.

king; though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion, and not (as the \* Greek text has it) polluted or spoiled with any foreign ornament. Cyaxares seeming at first a little displeased at it; " If I had " drest myself in purple (says Cyrus) and loaded myself with " bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that had been " longer in coming, should I have done you more honour, " than I do now by my expedition, and the sweat of my face, " and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and " dispatch your orders are obey'd?"

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to apagoldon antide sile Cyaxares, fatisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian embaffadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were fent by the king their mafter, to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians; and that they had orders, as foon as they had heard what the Medes should say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to alledge on their part; to the end that the king their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those, who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power; to be influenced only by justice. to confult no advantage from the division of neighbours, but to declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, they had injured party. given the Babylonians no fubject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the fequel, that he declared for the Medes.

(r) The king of Armenia, who was vassal to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay hold on this occasion to shake off their yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay them the ordinary tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly

(r) A. M. 3447. Ant. J. C. 557. Cyrop. 1. 2. p. 58-61.

& l. 3. p. 62-70.

\* Έν τη Περσική σολή der'd into any other language 
ides τι υθρισμένη. A fine with the same beauty 
expression, but not to be ren-

highly embarraffed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himfelf exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his defign fecret, without which it was not likely to succeed. He therefore appointed a great hunting-match on that fide of the country; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's fon, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he fet out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear, till a fignal was given. After fome days hunting, when they were come pretty near the palace where the court refided, Cyrus communicated his defign to his officers; and fent Chrysanthes with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters of a certain fleep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire, in case of an alarm, with his family and his treasure.

This being done, he fends an herald to the king of Armenia, to fummon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time ordered his troops to advance. Never was court in a greater furprise and perplexity. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done; and was not in a condition to support it. However, he did what he could to affemble his forces together from all quarters; and in the mean time difpatched his youngest son, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his fcouts, that Cyrus was coming upon their heels, he entirely lost all courage, and all thought of making a defence. The Armenians, following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country cover'd with people, that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done them, if they flay'd in their houses; but that as many, as were taken running away, should be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king. On On the other hand, they that were conducting the princeffes to the mountains, fell into the ambush Chrysanthes had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters, his eldest son's wise, and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

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The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence, where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family, to be brought to the midst of the army. At that very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a spectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addressing himself to him, said; "Prince, you are come very seasonably to be present at the trial of your facther." And immediately he assembled the captains of the Persians and Medes; and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were there in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded filence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer fincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank. than to use diffimulation or falshood. The king promised he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, propofing each article feparately and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war against Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat had concluded a treaty with Astyages; whether by virtue of that treaty he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country. It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all public and notorious. " For what " reason then (continued Cyrus) have you violated the treaty in " every article? For no other (replied the king) than beno hove and more and to see you out that you or cause

o content him. But you finner (replied Orne) but y

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" cause I thought it a glorious thing to shake off a yoke, to " live free, and to leave my children in the fame condition. "Tis really glorious (answered Cyrus) to fight in defence " of liberty: but if any one, after he is reduced to fervitude. " should attempt to run away from his master, what would " you do with him? I must confess (says the king) I would " punish him. And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to commit mal-" versations, would you continue him in his post? No cer-" tainly; I would put another in his place. And if he had " amassed great riches by his unjust practices, I would strip " him of them. But, which is still worse, if he had held " intelligence with your enemies, how would you treat him? "Though I should pass sentence upon myself (replied the " king) I must declare the truth: I would put him to death." At these words Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments: the women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if fentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded filence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect: " Great prince, can you "think it confishent with your wisdom to put my father to " death, even against your own interest? How against my " interest (replies Cyrus)? Because he never was so capable " of doing you fervice. How do you make that appear? do " the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new " title to confideration and favour? They certainly do, pro-" vided they ferve to make us wifer. For of inestimable va-" lue is wildom: are either riches, courage, or address to " be compared to it? Now 'tis evident, this fingle day's ex-" perience has infinitely improved my father's wifdom. He "knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. "He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him " in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of "his defigns; but you have happily accomplished all yours; " and with that expedition and fecrecy, that he has found " himself surrounded, and taken, before he expected to be " attacked; and the very place of his retreat has ferved only " to ensnare him. But your father (replied Cyrus) has yet " underto

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yet er"undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom." The fear of evils (answered Tigranes) when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Besides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger, and more prevailing motive, than any whatever; and there can be no obligations in the world of an higher nature, than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, scepter, life, wives and children, all restored to him with such a generosity; where can you find, illustrious prince, in one fingle person, so many strong and powerful ties to attach thim to your service?"

"Well then (replied Cyrus, turning to the king) if I should " yield to your fon's entreaties, with what number of men, " and what fum of money, will you affift us in the war against " the Eabylonians? My troops and treasures (says the Ar-" menian king) are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. " I can raise forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and " as to money, I reckon, including the treasure which my " father left me, there are about three thousand talents ready "money. All these are wholly at your disposal." Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the \* Chaldeans, with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and instead of fifty talents exacted an hundred, and borrowed the like fum over and above in his own name. " But what would you give me " (added Cyrus) for the ranfom of your wives? All that I " have in the world (answered the king). And for the ran-" forn of your children? The same thing. From this time " then you are indebted to me the double of all your posses-" hons. And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem " the liberty of your lady?" Now he had but lately married her,

<sup>\*</sup> Xenophon newer calls the stile them so. The Chaldeans people of Babylonia Chaldeans. meant in this place were a peo-But Herodotus, 1. 7. c. 63. ple adjoining to Armenia. and Strabo, 1. 16. p. 739.

and was passionately fond of her. " At the price (fays he) of a thousand lives, if I had them." Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. 'Tis easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been on this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various sub. jects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often feen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular efteem. " Alas (fays Tigranes) he is no more; and "I dare not tell you by what accident I loft him." Cyrus pressing him to tell him; " My father (continued Tigranes) " feeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and " that I was extremely attached to him, was jealous it might " be of fome ill consequence, and put him to death. But he was fo honest a man, that, as he was ready to expire, he " fent for me, and spoke to me in these words: Tigranes, et let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the ce king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed se from malice, but only from prejudice, and a false notion wherewith be was unbappily blinded. O the excellent " man! (cried Cyrus) never forget the last advice he gave " you."

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, as in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way: fome extolling his wisdom, others his valour; some admiring the fweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his per, fon, and the majesty of his mien. " And you (fays Tigra-" ranes, addressing himself to his lady) what do you think " of Cyrus's aspect and deportment? I don't know (replied " the lady) I did not observe him. Upon what object then "did you fix your eyes? Upon him that faid he would give " a thousand lives to ransom my liberty."

The next day, the king of Armenia fent prefents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the fum of money he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took he)

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took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest.

The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

I have thought proper, for feveral reasons, to give so circumstantial an account of this affair; though I have so far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find of it in Xenophon.

In the first place, it may serve to give the reader a notion of the stile of that excellent historian, and excite his curiosity to consult the original, whose natural and unaffected beauties are sufficient to justify the singular esteem, which persons of good taste have ever had for the noble simplicity of that author. To mention but one instance; what an idea of chastity and modesty, and at the same time, what a wonderful simplicity, and delicacy of thought are there, in the answer of Tigranes's wife, who had no eyes but for her husband!

In the second place, those short, close and pressing interrogations, each of which demand a direct, precise answer from the king of Armenia, discover the disciple and scholar of Socrates, and shew in what manner he retained the taste of his master.

Besides, this relation will give us some idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's Cyropedia; the substance of which is true, though it is embellished with several circumstances, added by the author, and introduced expressly to grace his instructive lessons, and the excellent rules. he lays down upon government. Thus much therefore in the event we are speaking of is real. The king of Armenia having refused to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him fuddenly, and before he fuspected any defigns against him; made himself master of the only fortress he had, and took his family prisoners; obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his quota of troops; and after all so won upon him by his humanity, and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the faithfulest and most affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inferted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be to cribed to the historian, than to the history itself. Vol. II.

I should never have found out myself, what the story of the governor's being put to death by Tigranes's father fig. nified, though I was very fenfible it was a kind of enigma, and figurative of fomething elfe. A \* person of quality, one of the greatest wits and finest speakers of the last age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, explained it to me many years ago, which I have not forgot. and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He Supposed Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his mafter Socrates, whom the flate of Athens became jealous of, on account of the extraordinary attachment all the wouth of the city had to him; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, that he suffered

without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought it proper not to mis this opportunity of manifesting such qualities in my hero, as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank; fuch as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the fuccess of their deligns, In most conquerors we find courage, refolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all fuch talents as make a neife in the world, and are apt to dazzle people by their glaring outfide: but an inward flock of goodness, compassion and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and referve even in profperity and victory, an infinuating and perfuafive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest; a conflant, unalterable care always to have right on his fide, and to imprint such a character of justice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and laftly, fach a clemency, as to diftinguish those that offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them opportunity to return to their duty: these are qualities rarely found in the most celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but shone out most conspicuously in Cyrus,

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(a) To return to my subject. Cyrus; before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him fome fignal fervice. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harraffed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himself of their character, frength, and the fituation of their strong-holds, marched against them. On the first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans poffesfed themselves of the eminences to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to affemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus expected no other from them, and had only placed them there, to bring the enemy the fooner to an engagement. And indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians, they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them he was not come to injure them, or to ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms; and so set them at liberty. Deputles were immediately fent to him; and a peace was concluded. For the better fecurity of both nations, and with their common confent, Cyrus caufed a fortress to be built upon an eminence, which commanded the whole country; and left a good garrison in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations, that should violate the treaty.

Cyrus, understanding that there was frequent commerce and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, defired that the latter would fend persons to accompany and conduct his embassador, whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money, from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Persa, and

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promifed that, if the gods crowned his deligns with success, that potentate should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request, which they could do the more advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The embassador set out the next day, accompanied with some of the most considerable persons of Chaldea, who were directed by their master to act with all possible dexterity, and to do Cyrus's merit all possible justice.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country, to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him: so that he arrived in Media, with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army, than he had when he left it.

SECT, IV. The expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus against the Babylonians. The first battle,

B OTH parties had been employed three years together, in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. Cyrus, finding their troops full of ardor, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares his leading them against Assyria. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to ease him, as soon as possible, of the care and expence of maintaining two armies; that it were better they should eat up the enemy's country, than Media; that so bold a step, as that of going to meet the Assyrians, might be capable of spreading a terror in their army, and at the same time inspire their own with the greater considence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyses, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal,

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<sup>(</sup>b) A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556. Cyrop. 1. 3. p. 78

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As foon therefore as the customary facrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire; befeeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure of courage and prudence as was necessary, and in short to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer: and indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himfelf, in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Affyria, it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and fuccour: after which, they began to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance forwards, and march up to them. When the armies came within fight, both fides prepared for battle. The Affyrians were encamped in the open country; and, according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus on the contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the fight and knowledge of the smallness of their army, covered his troops with several little hills and villages. Several days nothing was done on either fide but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Affyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, + Jupiter protector & conductor.

<sup>†</sup> I do not know whether names of the gods of his own Xenophon, in this place, does country.

He then caused the ordinary hymn to be sounded, in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardor (Secre Cas) answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but chearfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and an universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command. "For 'tis ob. " fervable (fays the historian) in this place, that on these occafions, those that fear the deity most are the least afraid of men." On the fide of the Affyrians, the troops armed with bows, flings, and darts, made their discharges, before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Affyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Cræsus, and their own king, to encourage them, were not able to fustain fo rude a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed, The former warmly purfued them to the very camp, made a terrible flaughter, and the king of the Babylonians (Nerigliffor) was killed in the action. Cyrus, not thinking himself in a condition to force their entrenchments, founded a retreat.

(c) The Affyrians in the mean time, their king being killed, and the flower of their army lost, were in a dreadful consternation. (d) As soon as Crossus found them in so great a disorder he fled, and lest them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night

to make their escape.

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already observed, the Persians had none. He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him, how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an enemy to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage

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courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not to lose the fruits of victory by too much vivacity; moreover, that he did not care to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose, to which their behaviour had justly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, defired his permission only to take as many of the horse as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing else now, but of passing his time with his officers in feasing and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had just obtained.

Cyrus marched away in pursuit of the enemy, and was followed by the greatest part of the Median soldiers. Upon the way he met some couriers, that were coming to him from the † Hyrcanians, who served in the enemy's army, to assure him, that as foon as ever he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in effect they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time, and having marched all night, came up with the Affyrians. Cræfus had fent away his wives in the night-time for coolness (for it was the summer season) and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Affyrians faw the enemy fo near them, they were in the utmost confusion and desolation. Many of those that ran away, being warmly purfued, were killed; all that stayed in the camp, furrendered; the victory was compleat, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses they took in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and for the prisoners, he gave them all their liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies.

<sup>†</sup> These are not the Hyrcanians by the Caspian sea. From nians here meant were about observing Cyrus's encampments four or sive days journey south in Babylonia, one would be apt of Babylon.

enemies, and to put them in a condition of cultivating their lands with entire fecurity.

Whilst the Medes and the Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repast, and even baths prepared for them; that at their return they might have nothing to do, but to fit down and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. 'Twas on this occasion' this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity, in regard to their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He defired they would wait their return, both for the refreshments, and the division of the spoil; and that they would shew a preference of their interests and conveniencies before their own; giving them to understand, that this would be a fure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of fecuring a new harvest of victories to them over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them an ample amends for the voluntary losses they might fustain, for the fake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them fit down to the repast he had prepared for them, defiring them to fend nothing but bread to the Perfians, who were fufficiently provided (he faid) with all they wanted, either for their ragoo's, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragoo, and water from the river their only drink. For that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning came on the division of the spoils. Cyrus in the first place ordered the Magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty what was properest to be offered to the gods on such an occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained amongst the whole army. They earnestly defired, that the Persians might preside in the distribution; but

the Persians absolutely refused it: so that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

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- (e) The very night, that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy, Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity; and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning, when he waked, he was strangely surprized to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of refentment and rage, he dispatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus feverely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not difmay Cyrus, who in return writ him a respectful letter; in which however he expressed himself with a generous and noble freedom, justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him, of taking as many Medes with him, as were willing to follow him. At the same time Cyrus sent into Persia, for an augmentation of his troops, defigning to push his conquests still farther. Not year, ishboos via d.
- (f) Amongst the prisoners of war they had taken, there was a young princels of most exquisite beauty, which they reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Sufiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus, of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear (as he faid) fuch an object might engage his affection more than he defired, and divert him from the profecution of the great designs he had in view. (g) This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received; for it was a principle among the Perfians, never to speak before young people of any thing, that tended or related to love, left their natural inclination to pleasure, which is fo strong and violent at that age of levity and indifcretion, should be awaken'd and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Arafpes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody.

<sup>(</sup>e) P. 104-108. (f) L. 5. p. 114, 117. & 1. 6. p. 153, 155. (g) L. 1. p. 34.

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custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, bit pretended, that a man may be always mafter of himfelf, Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him a very prudent admonition. "I have feen a er great many persons (says he) that have thought thems " felves very firong, wretchedly overcome by that violent " passion, in spite of all their resolution; who have own'd " afterwards with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and flavery, from which they had not the power " to redeem themselves; an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts ; a kind of \* bond or necessity, more difficult to force than the strongest " chains of iron. Fear nothing (replied Araspes) I am sure of myfelf, and I'll answer with my life, I shall do nothing " contrary to my duty." Nevertheless his passion for this young princess encreased, and by degrees grew to such an height, that finding her invincibly averse to his delires, he was upon the point of using violence with her. The princes at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately fent Artabasus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the foul with grief and anguish, burst into a stood of tears; and being over-whelm'd with shame and fear, thinking himfelf undone, had not a word to fay for himfelf. Some days afterwards, Cyrus fent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and, instead of reproaching him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him; acknowledging, that he himself was to blame, for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By fuch an unexpected kindness the young nobleman recover'd both life and speech. But this confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. " Alas 66 (fays

<sup>\*</sup> Δεδεμένους ίσχυροτέρα τινὶ άναλμη η ει σιθήρο

" (fays he) now I am come to the knowledge of myself; and find most plainly, that I have two souls; one, that incides me to good; another, that incides me to evil. The former prevails, when you speak to me, and come to my relief; when I am alone, and left to myself; I give way to and am overpowered by the latter." Araspes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus confiderable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their

measures and defigns.

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(b) The loss of fo brave an officer, whom discontent was supposed to have engaged in the enemy's party, caused a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occasion'd it, promifed Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit; whereby fhe meant her hulband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Perfians, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and handsomely she had been treated by the generous conqueror. " And how (cry'd out Abradates) shall I be able to acknow-" ledge fo important a fervice? By behaving towards him (re-" plied Panthea) as he has done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and paying his respects to so great a benefactor : " You see before you (says he to him) the " tenderest friend, the most devoted servant, and the faithful-" left ally you ever had : who, not being able otherwise to " acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself en-" tirely to your fervice." Cyrus receiv'd him with fuch a noble and generoos air, and withal with fo much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea had faid of the wonderful character of that great prince, was abundantly short of the truth.

(i) Two Affyrian noblemen likewife, who defign'd, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas,

<sup>(</sup>b) Cyrop. 1, 6, p. 155, 156, p. 111, 113.

<sup>(</sup>i) Cyrop. 1. 4.

Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age The king of Affyria, lately dead, who was and his virtue. well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had refolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas's fon, and for that reason had fent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beaft with his dart, which the king's fon had miffed : the latter, who was of a passionate and savage nature, immediately stuck the young gentleman with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas befought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his. family under his protection; and the rather, because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been defigned for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother. (k) This young king was called Laborosoarchod: he reigned only nine months, and was fucceded by Nabonid, called alfo. Labynit and Balthafar, who reigned seventeen years.

(1) The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadates: he was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne; because one of his concubines had mentioned him as an handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman, whom he should

choose for a wife.

(m) The expectation of this double fuccour was a ftrong inducement to Cyrus, and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he defigned to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations

<sup>(</sup>k) A. M. 3449, Ant. J. C. 555. (1) L. 5 p. 123, 124. (m) L. 5. p. 119, 123.

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preparations for the fiege he meditated. He fet out therefore with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, fo advantageously was it fituated, and fo strongly fortified on all fides. This prince came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of filver and golden cups, and other veffels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purfes, full of the golden coin of the country; then fending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seem'd still to inhance; he prefented her to Cyrus, defiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept these marks of his acknowledgement, which he took the liberty to offer him. "I willingly accept your gold and filver (fays Cyrus) and I " make a prefent of it to your daughter, to augment her " portion. Doubt not, but amongst the nobles of my court, " you'll find a match fuitable for her. 'Twill neither be " their own riches, nor yours, which they'll fet their " efteem upon. I can affure you, there are many amongst " them, that would make no account of all the treasures of " Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. "'Tis their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is " mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, " formidable to their enemies, and respectful to the gods." Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he stedfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and eat with him and his officers. ground, and the green turf that was upon it, was all the beds and couches they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment was fuitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good fense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Affyrians had the art of diffinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit: and above all things he admired the ingenious vein of humour, and the innocent VOL. II. chearfulneis.

chearfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertain-

(n) Cyrus, always intent upon his great defign, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadates, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood of this there was a frong citadel, which commanded the country of the \* Sara and the Cadufians, where a governor for the king of Babylon refided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadates, whose intelligence with the Perfians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice offered him! felf to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of this citadel made him master of the Sacze and the Cadufians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attach'd to his fervice. The Cadulians raifed an army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the Sace furnished ten thousand foot and two thousand horse archers,

The king of Affyria took the field, in order to punish Gadates for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great flaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit this conqueror employed fome time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had fpread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily furrendred to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he fent the king of Affyria a personal challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a fingle combat: But this challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of a truce, or treaty, with the king of Affyria, by which it was agreed on both fides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but thould

<sup>(</sup>n) P. 124-140. \* Not the Saga of Scythia,

Cyaxares

should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having view'd the canntry, examined the fituation of Babylon, acquired a confiderable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

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(o) When he came near the frontiers, he fent a messenger to Cvaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit fo great an army into his country; and an army, that was fill going to receive an augmentation of forty thousand men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus; who likewife advanced forwards to meet him with his cavalry, that was very fine and numerous. The fight of those troops rekindled the jealoufy and diffatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid the receiving of his falute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into a conversation with his uncle, for explaining himself with the more freedom. He spoke to him with so much temper, submission, and reason; gave him such strong proofs of his integrity, respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispell'd all his fospicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opimron. They embraced one another, and tears were shed on both fides. How great the joy of the Persians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses; and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the fign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyarares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to falute him, and to bring him prefents; forme of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. P 2

<sup>(</sup>o) Cyrop. 1. 5. p. 141-147.

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Cyaxares was extremely touch'd at this proceeding, and began to find, that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.

(p) Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Creesus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day in the presence of Cyaxares and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date, that precifely fixes the years, wherein the feveral events he relates happened, I suppose with Usher, tho' Xenophon's relation does not feem to favour this notion, that between the two battles against Cræsus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides, for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

(q) Cyrus then about this time had thought of making a tour into his own country, about fix or feven years after his departure, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares on this occasion gave him a signal testimony of the value he stad for his merit, Having no male-issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage \* to Cyrus, with an assurance of the

(q) Ibid, 1, 8,

(p) Cyrop. 1. 1. p. 148—151. p. 228, 229.

\* Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above fixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable, that either of them should wait till that age, before they thought of matrimony, Ithought proper to give this fact a more early date. Besides, at that rate Cambyfes would bave been but seven years old when be came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when be died; which cannot be reconciled with the expedition be

made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the rest of bis Perhaps Xenophon bistory. might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do; but I follow the chronology of archbishop Usher. I have also left out what is related in the Cyropædia, (1. 8. p. 228.) that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Astyages, the young princess bad faid the would have no other busband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirteen years old,

kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful fense of this advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it; but thought himself not at liberty to accept it, till he had the confent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respeciful submission and entire dependance, which all children ought to flew to their parents on the like occasion, of what age foever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatnefs they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princels on his return from Persia.

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When the marriage folemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare, in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies, for accomplishing the great defign he had form'd.

(r) Foreseeing (says Xenophon) that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitch'd his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it extremely. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise, as if the enemy had been always in fight.

They understood by deferters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vaft fums of gold and filver. The common foldiers immediately concluded, that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judg'd he had undertaken this journey, only to raife up some new enemy against him; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a fecond battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniencies in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Afia.

(s) In this interval, embassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large fum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted;

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that he was willing to he his friend and ally; and, if he fill wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his embassiadors to pay him the same absolute obedience, as to himself. Cyarus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost reagard, and made them noble presents: and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in effect to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not find in this last circumstance the upright conduct and usual fincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant, that it was an open violation of the laws of nations, to send spies to an enemy's court, under the title of embassadors; which is a character, that will not suffer those invested with it to act so

mean a part, or to be guilty of fuch a treachery?

(t) Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle, like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation amongst his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart, or shoot an arrow the most dextrously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived, that the captains took a particular care of their men, he praised them publickly, and shewed them all possible favour for their encouragement. When he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave confiderable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited an universal ardor throughout his army. In a word, he was a general, who in repose, as well as action,

may, even in his pleasures, his meals, conversations and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the service. Tis by such methods a man becomes an able and compleat warrior.

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(ii) In the mean time, the Indian embaffadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Croefus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necesfary fums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great fuccour was marching, confisting of an hundred and twenty thousand men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygia's, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phonicians, were already arrived; that the Affyrians were likewise come up with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and most part of the Greeks living in Afia, had been obliged to join them; that Cræfus had likewife fent to the Lacedemonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was affembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbra, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in both by the prisoners and the spies.

(x) Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news. But that prince having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispell'd their fears, and revived their courage.

(y) Cyrus had taken all proper measures, that his army should be provided with all necessaries; and had given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in the doing of which he descended to an astonishing detail, which Kenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew very well, that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through

through the neglect of the smallest circumstances; in the fame manner as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the diforder of one fingle wheel, though never fo fmall.

(2) This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names: and making use of a low, but fignificant comparison. he used to fav, " He thought it strange, that an artificer " should know the names of all his tools, and a general " should be so indifferent, as not to know the names of all " his captains, which are the inftruments he must make use of, in all his enterprises and operations." Besides, he was perfuaded, that fuch an attention had fomething in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe, they are both known and esteemed by their general.

(a) When all the preparations were finished, Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media with a third part of his troops, that the county might not be left entirely de-

fenceless.

Cyrus, who understood how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the feat of war, -did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forwards to meet them in their territories, that he might both confume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine, this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country: and they were frangely furprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions, necessary for the subsistance of their numerous army, or to affemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

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<sup>(</sup>x) L. 5. p. 131-132.

<sup>(</sup>a) L. 6. p. 160, 161.

SECT. V. The batele of Thymbra, between Cyrus and

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HIS battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, fince it decided the empire of Afia between the Affyrians of Babylon and the Persians. \* 'Twas this confideration, that induced Mr. Freret, one of my brethren in the academy of polite literature, to examine it with a particular care and exactness; and the rather, as he observes. because it is the first pitched battle, of which we have any full or particular account. I have affumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, as also without denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I judge neceffary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle, than I usually do of such matters, because Cyrus being looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the profession may he glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action: moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war and fought battles. is an effential part of their hiftory.

(b) In Cyrus's army the companies of foot confifted of an hundred men each, exclusively of the captain. Each company was subdivided into four parts or platoons, which confifted of four and twenty men each, not including the person that commanded the escouade. Each of these subdivisions was again divided into two files, consisting in consequence of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, which sufficiently answers to what we call a colonel; and ten of those bodies again had another superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

(c) I have already observed, that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of thirty thousand Persians, to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms

<sup>(</sup>b) Cyrop. 1. 6. p. 167. (c) L. 2. p. 39, 40. \* Vol. VI. of the Memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres, P. 532.

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of his troops. Two thirds of them till then only made use of javelins, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers and swords, or battle-axes; and left few of his soldiers in light armour.

(d) The Perfians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback. Cyrus, who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle, as cavalry, was sensible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design, and by little and little formed a body of Persian cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand men, and were the best troops of his army.

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. 'Tis now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon, that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers; which appears surprising in a man so expert

in military affairs, as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted in the whole to an hundred and ninety-fix thousand men, horse and foot. Of these there were seventy thousand natural born Persians, viz. ten thousand cuirassiers of horse, twenty thousand cuirassiers of foot, twenty thousand pikemen, and twenty thousand light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of an hundred and twenty-fix thousand men, consisted of twenty-fix thousand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and an hundred thousand foot of the same nations.

(e) Besides these troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by sour horses a-breast, covered with trappings that were shot-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.

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<sup>(</sup>d) L. 4. p. 99, 100. & l. 5. p. 138. p. 152, 153, 157.

be made of a larger fize, upon each of which was placed a tower, of about eighteen or twenty foot high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by fixteen oxen yoked in a-breaft.

(g) There was moreover a confiderable number of camels, inpon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thousand men, of which fixty thousand were cavalry. The troops confifted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellesport, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and fixty thousand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of an hundred and twenty thousand. They had bucklers that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and thort swords, but very broad. The rest of the army was made up of Cyprians, Cilicians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

(i) Croefus's army in order of battle was all ranged in one line, the infantry in the center, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horfe, were thirty men deep that the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were an hundred and twenty thousand in number, and who were the principal strength of Croefus's infantry, in the center of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, which had an hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval or space between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with one another. Croesus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and lest: and the design

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<sup>(</sup>f) P. 156, (i) P. 166,

<sup>(</sup>b) P. 158.

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of Cræfus, upon which he alone founded his hopes of victory. was to furround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle, to which they had been accustomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty fladia's or five miles in length. a) There was moreover a conne

Araspes, who under the pretence of discontent had retired to Cræfus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus. to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account of what to who had bolile

(k) The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four and twenty men in depth but Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his phalanx, to prevent his army's being enclosed and hemed in: His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuiraffes, partizans, battle-axes, and favords; and provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe the Lydian phalanx, that were only armed with light bucklers and javeline, could support the charge. Cyrus therefore thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chryfantes, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two stadia's, or four miles in extent; and confequently was at each end near four fladia's, or half a mile, thort of the enemy's front.

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spear-men, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by the foldiers in their front, over whose heads they could fling their javelins, and shoot their grows, at the enemy - sight of egoliv right to go hostes out

Behind

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their business was to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to surfain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill those as traitors that run away; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemys.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers, which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only serve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual discharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewise be looked upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Pensian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots, which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

(1) To close all these lines, and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all two thousand infantry, two thousand horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's defign in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numeros than it really was, but likewife to oblige the enemies, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line, by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of an hundred each. One of these bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of \* Susiana, was placed in the front

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<sup>(1)</sup> P. 168.

<sup>#</sup> Or Sufban.

of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the

Such was the order of battle in the two armies, as they were drawn out and disposed the day before the engagement.

factifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the foldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was fight more beautiful and magnificent: coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire most: men and horses, all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.

(a) When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirale, which was only of quilted flax, according to the fashion of his country; his wife Panthea came and presented him with an helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be the more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when the dreffed him in this armour, the fied forme tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not fignalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations (fays " fhe) to that prince are infinitely great, I was his prisoner, " and as fuch was fet apart for his pleasure; but when I

"came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive,
"nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for

" my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own

" brother's wife; and in return I affured him, you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness."

" O Jupiter (cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven) grant that on this occasion I may approve myself

" an husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor," Having said this, he mounted his

chariot,

chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready to kifs the chariot he rode in; and when she had purfued him with her eyes, as far as she possibly could, she retired.

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(0) As foon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice, given his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage that is due to the gods, every man went to his post. (p) Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals: he eat a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed amongst those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise; and poured out a part of it, as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his affistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was confidering on which fide he should direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, \* "Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee:" and that instant he set forwards, having Chrysantes on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arlamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to take care of the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle at the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out; the same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He made his army halt three times, before they arrived at the enemy's army; and after having marched about twenty stadia's, or two miles and an half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within fight of each other, and the enemies had observed how much the front of theirs exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the center of their army halt, whilft the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with defign to inclose Cyrus's army, and to begin

<sup>(</sup>o) P. 170. (p) L. 7. p. 172.

<sup>\*</sup> He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

their attack on every fide at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, Jupiter, leader and protettor, he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately, and help them to conquer, if it was the will of

the gods.

(9) He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the foldiers; and he, who on all other occasions was fo modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was affured of victory: "Follow me, comrades (fays he) the " victory is certainly ours; the gods are for us." He observed, that many of his officers, and even Abradates himfelf, were uneafy at the motion, which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: "Those troops alarm you (fays he); believe me, " those are the very troops that will be the first routed; and " to you, Abradates, I give that as a fignal of the time, " when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots." In the event the thing just happened as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where, he returned to the right wing of his army.

(r) When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended, Creesus gave the signal to the main body of his army, to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, whilst the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their slanks, advanced on each side; so that Cyrus's army was inclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked

like a small square drawn within a great one.

In an instant, on the first fignal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every fide, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to fing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed

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by a body of the foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces, that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank; and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great diforder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, compleated their defeat.

In the fame moment the troops of the left flank, knowing by the noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewife, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as ever they were sensible of the approach of those animals (for horses cannot endure the smell of camels) began to fnort and prance, to run foul upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilst they were in this confusion, a small body of herse, commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed, with a dreadful flaughter.

(s) This being the fignal, which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots. Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being covered with their bucklers, and marching in fuch close order, that the chariots had not room to pierce amongst them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, had it not been for the violence of the horses, that trod upon them. 'Twas a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, over-turned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had fignalized their valour in an extraordinary Q 3

(a) P. 177.

extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forwards in close order, and covered with their bucklers, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met with a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the rolling towers; and the battalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand, hindered their archers and spear-men from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

(t) Cyrus in the mean time having put both the horse and foot to flight, on the left of the Egyptians, did not amuse himself in pursuing the run-aways. But pushing on directly to the center, had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and rightly judging, that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining further ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell. upon their rear: the cavalry came up at the fame time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all fides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself, was in great danger: his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, finking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, fays Xenophon, of feeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his foldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they faw their leader, run headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to fee fuch brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, if they would furrender, letting them know at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they were no less eminent in point of fidelity than in 'courage, they stipulated, that they should not be obliged to carry arms, against Cræsus, in whose service they had been engaged. From

From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.

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(u) Xenophon observes, that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larisia and Cyllene, near Cuma, upon the sea-coast, as also other inland places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds, that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon's, as also many other in several parts of his Cyropedia, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shews plainly, that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious resection, Monsieur Freret makes upon this passage.

(x) The battle lasted till evening. Cræsus retreated as fast as he could, with his troops to Sardis. The other nations in like manner that very night directed their course, each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.

In describing this battle I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some persons of the sword, to whom I have communicated this description, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus disposed of his troops in order of battle; as he placed no troops to cover his slanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops, which Cræsus had detached, to fall upon the slanks of Cyrus's army. 'Tis possible such a circumstance might escape Xenophon in describing this battle.

(y) 'Tis allowed, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry, which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and persecting them in a part of the military art, of which till his time they had been utterly ignorant. The thatiots armed with scythes did good service, and the use of them was ever afterwards retained among the Persians. The

camels

camels too were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them, and observes, that in his time they made no other use of them, than for carrying the baggage.

I don't undertake to write a panegyrick upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. 'Tis fufficient to take notice, that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable fagacity and forefight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his foldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardor: In the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders, as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, and at the fame time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall see by-and by what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the deity, which he thought belong'd to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in fight of all his army, makes mention of the gods, offers facrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them by prayer and invocation, and implores their fuccour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military person himself, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame then and a reproach would it be to a christian officer or general, if on a day of battle he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hofts, the god of armies, whom he acknowledges as fuch, should make a less impression impression upon his mind, than a respect for the false deities of paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus?

As for Creeius, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is faid of him in the whole engagement. But that profound filence, which Xenophon observes in regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

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(z) But let us return to the camp of the Persians. easy to imagine, that Panthea must be in the utmost affliction and diffress, when the news was brought her of Abradates's death. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and holding it upon her knees, quite out of her fenses, with her eyes stedfastly fix'd upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief and indulging her mifery with the fight of that difmal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus, being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathised with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he posfibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shewn to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both bury'd in one common grave upon the very fpot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.

SECT. VI. The taking of Sardis, and of Creefus.

(a) THE next day in the morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis. If we may believe Herodotus, Cræfus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to flut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces, to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength confisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure

<sup>(</sup>z) P. 184-186, (a) L. I. c. 79-84.

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endure the fight nor the fmell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted. and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both fides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; (b) which Cyrus quickly befieged, caufing his engines to be level'd against the walls, and his scaling-ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by form. But whilft he was amufing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. 'At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no refistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plunder'd; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already begun to disperse themselves in several places. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign foldiers, and tie them as it were by a fingle command, in a city fo abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by fo fingular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touch'd, provided they brought him all their gold and filver. This condition they readily complied with; and Cræfus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, fet them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

(c) When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city, he had a particular conversation with the king, of whom he asked, among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphos, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom, it was said, he had always had a great regard. Croesus first acknowledged, that he had justly incurr'd the indignation of that god, for having shewn a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason

(b) Cyrop. 1. 7. p. 180.

(c) P. 181-184.

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to complain of him; for that having confulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead an happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness, when he once came to the knowledge of himself, " For want of this " knowledge (continued he) and believing myself, through " the excessive praises that were lavish'd upon me, to be " fomething very different from what I am, I accepted the " title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in a war against a prince, infinitely my superior in " all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, " and begin to know myself, I believe I am going to begin " to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me (for my " fate is in your hands) I shall certainly be so." touch'd with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from fo great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under fuch a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to fay, he discharged him (as Cræsus acknowledged himself) from all the burthensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead an happy life, exempt from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, and to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more fecure of his person.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this flory with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithstand-

ing they feem to be much more wonderful than true.

(d) I have already observed, that the only son Crossus had living was dumb. This young prince, seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his Scymetar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of sear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the strings of his tongue, and cry'd out, Soldier, spare the life of Crossus.

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(e) Cræsus being a prisoner was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly the funeral pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince, being laid thereon, and just upon the point of execution, recollecting the \* conversation he had formerly had with Solon, was wofully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof cry'd out aloud three times, Solon, Solon, Solon! Cyrus, who with the chief officers of his court was prefent at this spectacle, was curious to know why Cræsus pronounced that celebrated philophopher's name with fo much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and reflecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiferation at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect. + Thus had Solon the glory with one fingle word to fave the life of one king, and give a wholfome leffon of instruction to another.

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Croefus to engage in the war, which proved fo fatal to him. The one was, that he, Croefus, was to believe himself in danger, when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them: The other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular anfwers he concluded, confidering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he dispatched messengers to Delphos, in order to make a present to the god in his name of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having fo basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding all the vast presents and offerings he had made

him.

<sup>(</sup>e) Ibid. c. 86-91. Plut. in Solon.

<sup>\*</sup> This conversation is al- ενὶ λόρω τον μέν σώσας, τὸν ready related.

Τὰ καὶ δόξαν εχεν ὁ Σόλων Plut.

him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Crossus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own, because

of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed apon mankind, in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answers to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

(f) When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprifed of Cyrus's having fubdued the Lydians, they fent embaffadors to him at Sardis, to defire he would receive them as his subjects, upon the fame conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus. who before his victory had follicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, answered them only by a fable of a fisherman, who having play'd upon his pipe, in order to make the fish come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them, but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of fucceeding this way, they applied to the Lacedamonians, and demanded their fuccour. The Lacedamonians thereupon fent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know, that they would not fuffer him to undertake any thing against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at fuch a meffage, and advertised them in his turn to take care, and put themselves into a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phonicians, nor had the Persians any shipping.

(f) Hered. 1. 1. c. 141, 1:2, 153.

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## ARTICLE MI dolla street

The history of the besteging and taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

reduced all the nations that inhabited it into inbjection, from the Egean sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subjected. After which he entered into Assyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the east that stood out against him.

The fiege of this important place was no easy enterprise, The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was well stored with all forts of provisions for twenty years. How. ever, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his defign. But despairing to take the place by storm, or affault, he made them believe his defign was to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and affign'd each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The belieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, infulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laugh'd at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himfelf, as fo much unprofitable labour.

SECT. 1. Predictions of the principal circumstances relating to the fiege and the taking of Babylon, as they are set down in different places of the boly scriptures. 0

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A S the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in antient history, and as the principal circumstances, with which it was attended, were foretold in the holy scriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before

<sup>(</sup>g) Her. l. 1. c. 177. Cyrop. l. 7. p. 186-188.

before I give an account of what the prophane writers fay of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

I. The prediction of the Fewish captivity at Babylon, and

God almighty was pleased not only to cause the captivity, which his people were to suffer at Babylon, to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and an eternal destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. Jer. xxv. 11.

II. The causes of God's wrath against Babylon.

That which kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. Her insupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and, 3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. Her Pride. \* She believeth herfelf to be invincible. She fays in her heart, I am the queen of nations; and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness, or widowhood. Eternity is writ in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it.

2. Her cruelty. 'Tis God himself that complains of it. † I was willing (says he) to punish my people in such a

\* Dixisti, In sempiternum ero domina Dicis in corde tuo, Ego sum, & non est præter me amplius: non sedebo vidua, & ignorabo sterilitatem, Isa. xlvii. 7, 8.

+ Iratus fum fuper popu-

lum meum, & dedi eos in manu tua, Babylon. Non posuisti eis misericordiam psuper senem aggravasti jugum tuum valde. Veniet super te malum. Isa, xlvii. 6, 7.

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fcripfcripproper, before manner, as a father chaftifeth his children. I fent them for a time into bandhment at Babylon, with a defign to recal them, as foon as they were become more thankful and more faithful! But Babylon and her prince have converted my paternal chastifement into such a cruel and inhuman treatment as my clemency abhors. Their delign has been to deftroy: mine was to fave. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shewn no compassion or regard either to age, infirmity or virtue, slean timester

3. The facrilegious impiety of her king. To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors Baltazar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but imagined himfelf likewife to have vanguished his power, because he was possessed of the veffels which had belong'd to his worship; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply those holy veffels to prophane uses. This was the provoking circumstance, that brought down the wrath of God upon him.

MI, The decree pronounced against Babylon. Prediction of the valumities that were to fall upon ber, and of her utter destruction.

. (b) Make bright the arrows, gather the shields; 'tis the prophet that fpeaks to the Medes and Perfians. The Lord bath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his dewice is against Babylon to destroy it, because it is the wengeance of the Lord, the wengeance of his temple.

(i) Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at kand, a day eruel both with wrath and herce anger to lay the land defolate, (k) Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land,

as I have punished the king of \* Affgria.

(1) Shoot against her round about. Recompense ber according to her work; according to all that she bath done, do unto ber; and spare ye not ber young men; destroy ye utterly all ber bost. (m) Every one that is found shall be thrust thre' and

<sup>(</sup>b) Jer. li. 11. (f) Ifa, xiii, 6, 9. (k) Jer. 1. 18. (1) Jer. l. 15, 29. Ibid. li. 3. (m) Ifa. xiii. 15, 18.

<sup>\*</sup> In the destruction of Niniveb.

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every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children. (n) O daughter of Babylon, thou art to be destroyed, happy shall be be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall be be, that taketh thy children, and dasheth them against the stones.

(o) And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desart shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces. (p) I will also make it a possession for the bittern and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of bosts. The Lord of bosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.

IV. Cyrus called to destroy Babylon, and to deliver the

Cyrus, whom the divine providence was to make use of, as an infrument for the executing of his designs of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the scripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born: And, that the world might not be surprised at the prodigious rapidity of his conquests, God was pleased to declare in very lofty and remarkable terms, that he himself

<sup>(</sup>n) Pf. exxxvii. 8, 9. (o) Isa. xiii. 19, 22. (p) Ibid. xiv. 23, 24.

would be his guide; that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. (q) Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates spall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places strait. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the hars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou may sk know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name; I have sirnamed thee, tho' thou hast not known me,

V. God gives the fignal to the commanders, and to the troops,

to march against Babylon.

(r) Lift ye up a banner, saith the Lord, upon the bigh mountain, that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. Exalt the voice unto them that are able to hear you. Shake the band, and make a sign, to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops go into the gates of the nobles, into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go into his tent, which is already set up.

(s) I have commanded my fanctified ones, I have given my orders to those whom I have sanctified for the execution of my designs; and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. 'Tis I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made several nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their ministration. I have called my mighty ones (t) for mine anger. I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive

(g) Isa. xlv. 1-4. (r) Isa. xiii. 2. (s) Ver. 3. (f) Lat, vers, in ira mea. Heb, in iram meam.

derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience. vould their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they es of are invincible, 'tis because they serve me: every thing gives nted, way, and trembles before them, because they are the minis befters of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour bim for my glory, they rejoice in my bighness. The honour they will have of being under my command, and of being fent to dezvill liver a people that I love, inspires them with ardor and chearrs of fulness: behold, they triumph already in a certain affurance bidthe of victory.

> The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is aftonished at the swiftness, with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, (u) The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together: the Lord of bosts mustereth the bost of the battle: (x) They come from a far country, from the end of heaven, where the voice of God, their master and sovereign, has

reached their ears.

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But 'tis not with the fight of a formidable army, or of the kings of the earth, that I'm now struck; 'tis God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. 'Tis even the Lord and the weapons of

bis indignation, to destroy the aubole land.

(y) A grievous vision is declared unto me: the \* impious Baltazar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiously; the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth. To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia; go up, O Elam: and thou prince of the Medes, befiege thou Babylon: Besiege, O Media; all the sighing, which she was the cause of, have I made to cease. That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VI. Particular circumstances set down, relating to the siege and the taking of Babylon.

There is nothing, methinks, that can be more proper to

(u) Ifa. xiii. 4. (y) Ifa, xxi, 2, (x) Ver. 5. \* This is the sense of the Hebrew word,

raise a prosound reverence in us for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages, before it happened.

I. We have already seen, that the army, by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to

be commanded by Cyrus.

2. This city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way that she did not at all expect: (2) Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth. She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she did not foresee: (a) Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. In a word, she shall be taken, as it were, in a net or a gin, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: (b) I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also

taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware.

2. Babylon reckoned the Euphrates alone was fufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being fo advantageously situated and defended by so deep a river: (c) 0 thou that dwellest upon many waters: 'tis God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem (of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it fince) shall divert the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: (d) I will dry up ber sea, and make her springs dry. A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up. Cyrus shall take possession of the keys of the river; and the waters, which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had been confumed by fire: (e) The passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire.

(z) Ifa. xlvii, 11. (a) Ibid. (b) Jer. 1. 24. (c) li. 13. (d) Ver. 36. 1. 38. (e) li. 32.

4. She shall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of seasting and rejoicing, even whilst her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: (f) In their heat I will make their seasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord. It is remarkable, that the God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon; (g) I have laid a snare for thee; who drieth up the waters of the river; I will dry up her sea: and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes; (b) I will make drunk her princes.

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: (i) My loins are filled with pain; pangs bave taken bold upon me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the bearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it: my heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: the night of my pleasure bath be turned into fear unto me. This is the condition Baltazar was in, when in the middle of the entertainment he faw an hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it, as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more especially, when Daniel declared to him, that those characters imported the fentence of his death. (k) Then, fays the feripture, the king's countenance was changed, and bis thoughts troubled bim, so that the joints of bis loins were loofed, and bis knees Smote one against another. The terror, astonishment, fainting and trembling of Baltazar are here described and expressed in the fame manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the description of Baltazar's consternation, the following words; (1) Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower, eat, drink.

(f) Jer. li, 39. (g) Ut fupra. (b) Jer. li, 57. (l) Ifa. xxi. 3, 4. (k) Dan. v. 6. (l) Ifa.

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The prophet foresees, that Baltazar, though terribly dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his spirit and courage again, through the exhortations of his courtiers, but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly sears and unnecessary alarms: (m) Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed. They exhorted him therefore to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the centinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recal that gaiety and joy, which his excessive sears had banished from the table: Prepare the table; watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his: (n) Arise ye princes, and anoint the shield. 'Tis God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly

into a city drowned in wine, and buried in fleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important eircumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops with which it is filled, shall not keep their ground, or fland firm any where, neither at the palace, nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatfoever; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their escape; that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep, is dispersed and scattered, when they are affrighted: (o) And it shall be as a chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up. The second circumstance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces, from whence they came, without being purfued by the conquerors; because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens

<sup>(</sup>m) Dan. v. 10. (n) Ifa. xxi. 5. (e) Ifa. xxii. 14.

zens of Babylon: (p) They shall every man turn to his own

people, and flee every one into bis own land.

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8. Laftly, not to mention the dreadful flaughter, which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shewn either to old men, women or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already taken notice of; the last circumstance, I fay, the prophet foretels is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are described in scripture, after a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. (9) But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them (thy ancestors) in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and flain thy people. That king is justly forgot, who has never remembered, that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He, that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, living or dead, he ought to have no place amongst them. He was like unto the wild beafts of the field, and like them he shall be buried: and fince he had no fentiments of humanity himself, he deferves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence, which God himself pronounceth against Baltazar: and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his affociates in the throne, and as the fource of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleafing prospects and ideas of their future grandeur. (r) Prepare flaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rife nor possess the lands For I will rife up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and fon and nephew, faith the Lord.

(q) Isa. xiv. 19, 20. (r) Ver. (p) Ibid. 21, 22,

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SECT. II. A description of the taking of Babylon.

AFTER having feen the predictions of every thing, that was to happen to impious Babylon, 'tis now time to come to the completion and accomplishment of those prophecies; and in order thereto, we must resume the thread of our history, with respect to the taking of that city.

As foon as Cyrus faw the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think feriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to no-body. Providence soon furnished him with as sit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed, that in the city, on such a day, a great festival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

(s) Baltazar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. In the heat of his wine he ordered the gold and filver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought out; and, as an infult upon the God of Ifrael, he, his whole court, and all his concubines drank out of those facred vessels. God, who was provoked at such infolence and impiety, in the very action made him fenfible, who it was that he affronted, by a fudden apparition of an hand writing certain characters upon the wall. The king, terribly furprised and frighted at this vision, immediately sent for all his wife men, his diviners and aftrologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the \* characters. 'Tis probably

## (s) Dan. v. 1-29.

\* The reason why they now called the Samaritan dould not read this sentence characters, and which the was, that it was written in Babylonians did not under-Mebrew letters, which are stand.

in relation to this occurrence, that Isaiah, after having fore-told to Babylon, that the shall be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy forceries. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee, Isa. xlvii. 12, 13. The queen-mother (Nitocris, a princess of great merit) coming upon the noise of this prodigy into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the spirit of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately fent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner, in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the \* crying abuse he made of his power, when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself master to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wherefoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. "And thou his fon (fays he to the king) haft not humbled " thine heart, though thou knewest all this, but hast lifted "up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have " brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and "thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drank wine " in them; and thou hast praised the gods of filver and gold, " of brass, iron, wood and stone, which see not, nor hear, " nor know: and the God, in whose hand thy breath is, " and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then " was the part of the hand fent from him, and this writing " was written. And this is the writing that was written,

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<sup>\*</sup> Whom he would be flew, he fet up, and whom he would and whom he would he kept he put down. Dan. v. 19. alive, and whom he would

"MENE, TEKEL, (t) UPHARSIN. This is the ine 
"terpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbered 
thy kingdom and finished it; TEKEL, thou art weighed 
in the balances, and art found wanting; PEKES, thy 
kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Perfians." 
This interpretation, one would think, should have enhanced the king's trouble; but some way or other they found means to dispel his fears, and make him easy; probably upon a persuasion, that the calamity was not denounced as present 
or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear 
of disturbing the general joy of the present session, they put 
off the discussion of serious matters to another time, sat 
down again to their mirth and liquor, and continued their 
revellings to a very late hour.

(u) Cyrus in the mean time, well informed of the confufion, that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that fide, where the river entered into the city, and another part on that fide, where it went out? and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as foon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders; and exhorted his officers to follow him, by reprefenting to them, that he marched under the conduct of the gods, in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both fides the town, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadates, and advanced towards each other without meeting with any obstacle. The invisible guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and diforder of that riotous night serve to the leaving open of the gates of brass, which

(t) Or PERES. (u) Cyrop. 1. 7. 189-192,

\* These three words signify number, weight, measure.

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were made to thut up the descents from the keys to the riyer, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were fufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did thele two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, furprifed the guards and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors, to know what noise it was they heard without, the foldiers rushed in, and quickly made themselves masters of it. And meeting the king, who came up to them fword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to fuccour him, they killed him, and put all those that attended him to the fword. The first thing the conquerors did afterwards was to thank the gods for having at last punished that impious king. These words are Xenophon's, and are very remarkable, as they so perfectly agree with what the scriptures have recorded of the impious Baltazar.

(x) The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of Nebuchodonofor's reign, who was the founder thereof. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished, just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jefusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished those predictions, which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and Daniel had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important, and the most incredible of them all, and yet the scripture has set it down in the strongest terms and marked it out with the greatest exactness: a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points; the proof of which still actually fubfifts, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or footsteps should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

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SECT. III. The completion of the prophecy which foretold the total ruin and destruction of Babylon.

HIS prediction we find recorded in feveral of the prophets, but particularly in Ifaiah, in the xiiith chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verses, and in the 23d and 24th verses of the xvith chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 186. 'Tis there declared, that Babylon should be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as fet up their tents there; that neither herdiman, or shepherd. shall come thither even to rest his herd or his flock; that it shall become a dwelling-place for the wild beafts, and a retreat for the birds of the night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, or a fen, so that no mark or footstep shall be left to shew where Babylon had been. 'Tis God himself who pronounced this sentence, and 'tis for the fervice of religion to shew how exactly every article of it has been fuccessively accomplished.

I. In the first place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia chusing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Shushan, Echatana, Persepolis, or any other place;

and did themselves destroy a good part of Babylon.

(y) II. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any embellishments, or even reparations in it, but that moreover they built \* Seleucia in the neighbourhood, on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted. Nothing can better explain what

## (y) A. M. 3880.

\* Partem urbis Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus confumpsit, & Macedonum negligentia; maxime postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, stadiis tantum trecentis à Babylone

diffitam. Strab. 1. 16. p. 38.

In folitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ à Nicatore intra nonagesimum (or quadragesimum) lapidem. Plin. 1. 6. c. 26.

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the prophet had foretold; It shall not be inhabited. Its own masters endeavour to depopulate it.

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III. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building † Ctesiphon, which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that from the time the anathema was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons, that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; as if they all had thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, by indirect means though, and without using any violence; that it might the more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

(2) IV. She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition was she reduced at the time when † Pausanias wrote his remarks apon Greece. Illa autem Babylon, omnium quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nibil babet reliqui. Paus. in Arcad. pag. 509.

V. The kings of Persia sinding the place deserted made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man, or for timerous animals, that slee before him. Instead of citizens, she was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of sierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. (a) Wild beasts of the desart shall lie there, and dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces.

(b) S. Jerom has transmitted us the following valuable remark, which he had from a Persian monk, that had himself seen what he had related to him. Didicinus à quodam

(z) A. C. 96. (a) Ifa. xiii. 21, 22. (b) A. C. 400.

† Pro illa Seleuciam & † He wrote in the reight Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum of Antoninus, successor to Antoninus, successor to Antoninus, sin cap, xiii, Isa,

fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierofoly... mis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, & omnis generis hestias murorum ejus ambitu-tantum contineri. In cap. Isa. xili. 22.

VI. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals, which served for pleasure to the Persian kings, abandoned the place: serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way, so that in \* Theodoret's time there was but a very little stream of water left, which run across the ruins, and not meeting with a descent, or free passage, necessarily degenerated into a marsh.

(b) In the time of Alexander the Great, the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account: these outlets, being ill stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the sulfilling of his prophecy, and who had declared, he would destroy even to the very remains and sootsteps of Babylon, (c) [I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant] deseated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. 'Tis easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into

(b) Arrian de exped. Alex. 1. 8. (c) Isa. xiv. 22.

dera minimus aquarum meatus fluit. Theodor. in cap. l. Jerem. ver. 38, & 39.

<sup>\*</sup> Euphrates quondam urbem ipfam mediam dividebat: nunc autem fluvius conversus oft in aliam viam, & per ru-

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an inacceffible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold: (d) I will make it pools of water. And this was necessary, left the place where Babylon had stood, should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

VII. By means of all these changes Babylon became an utter desart, and all the country round sell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the most able \* geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood. In this manner God's prediction was literally sulfilled; (e) I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of boss. I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every footstep of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, who am the Lord, have abolished. I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of boss.

VIII. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought sit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. (f) The Lord of bosts bath sworn, saying, Surely as I bave thought, so it shall come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand. But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon, or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world; 'tis the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; 'tis the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal difference be put between the good and the wicked. The scriptures, that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the

<sup>(</sup>d) Ibid. xiv. 23. (e) Ibid. (f) Isa. xiv. 24. \*

\* Nunc omnino destructa, ita ut vix ejus supersint suders.

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public archives of religion. The Lord of bosts bath sworn, saying, As I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.

What I have faid of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almost entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah.

which is still in manuscript.

SECT. IV. What followed upon the taking of Babylon.

(g) CYRUS entered the city after the manner we have described, put all to the sword that were found in the streets; then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning by break of day, the garrison, which kept the citadel, being apprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the

strongest place in the world.

The first thing he did was, to thank the gods for the fuccess they had given him. And then having affembled his principal officers, he publickly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and diffributed rewards to his whole army. (b) After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired was to persevere in their antient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overthrown by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their antient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and as a means thereto, take a particular care to give their children education. This (says he) will necessarily engage us daily to make further advancements in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in fetting them good examples: nor will it be easy

<sup>(</sup>g) Cyrop. 1. 7. p. 192.

for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us, but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.

(i) Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications; but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers and embaffadors, he referved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the fuccels of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to fludy the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper fphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the frate move in fo regular a manner, that every part should have a dependance upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself, but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and fo on, till by these different degrees and regular Subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not stand idle in the midst of all this motion, but was as it were the foul to the body of the state; which by this means he governed with as much ease, as a father governs his private family.

(k) When he afterwards fent governors, called fatrapæ, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, or the commanding officers of the troops, kept on foot for the security of the country, to depend upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but him; that if any of the sattapæ, elate with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his male-administration

within his own government. For there was nothing be for carefully avoided, as the truffing of any one man with an abfolute power, as knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, that

all others are thereby abased and kept under.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, civil government. (1) In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that passed, He made it his principal care to honour and reward all fuch as diffinguithed themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He infinitely prefer'd elemency to martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and defolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and uleful. (m) He was fentible, that good laws con-tribute very much to the forming and preferving of good manners, but, in his opinion, the prince by his example was to be a living law to his people : (n) nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unless he was more wife and virtuous than those he governed. (e) He was also persuaded, that the furest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of fuch as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or to fay any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners. metion, but was as it were the for

(p) Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal, nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others. (q) "I have prodigious riches (says he to his courtiers) I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? for my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, if I desired it. No: the chief end I aim at is to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and

<sup>(1)</sup> Cyrop. 1, 8, p. 209. (m) P. 204. (n) P. 205. (o) P. 204. (p) P. 209. (q) P. 225.

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" and to fuccour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities."

(r) Creeius one day represented to him, that by continual giving he would at last make himself poor, whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. "And to what sum (replied Cyrus) do you think those treasures might have amounted?" Creesus named a certain sum, which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a little note to be writ to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them, that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him, than Creesus had mentioned. "Look here (says Cyrus to him) here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affections of my sub-

But as much as he esteemed liberality, he still laid a greater stress upon kindness and condescension, assability and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

(s) But what Cyrus preferr'd to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion. Upon this therefore he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of Magi, to sing daily a morning service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised amongst them in succeeding ages.

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed, that by serving the

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gods, as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible, it was the furest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus on the other hand was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments of religion, being convinced, that whosoever sincerely sears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

(t) Cyrus being resolved to settle his chief residence at Babylon, a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious, than he had been hitherto, in regard to the fafety of his perfon. The most dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating and sleeping. He determined therefore to fuffer no body to be near him at those times, but such persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and befides were generally despifed on account of the meanness of their birth, and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by all forts of reasons to an entire attachment to their master, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was, that they were of any confideration. Cyrus therefore filled all the offices of his houshold with eunuchs; and as this had been the practice before his time, from thenceforth it became the general custum of all the eastern countries.

'Tis well known, that in after-times this usage prevailed also amongst the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. 'Twas very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, sidelity and merit, to entrust them also with the management

of affairs, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy having got possession of their masters minds and considence, they came to be in great credit at court, to have the administration of public affairs and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive themselves at the highest offices and dignities in the state.

(u) But the good emperors, such as Alexander Severus, had the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures fold and attatch'd only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; persons, whose whole view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to keep all persons of merit from him, to conceal affairs as much as possible from his knowledge, and to keep him shut up and imprison'd, in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or sour officers, who had an entire ascendant and dominion over him: Claudentes principem sum, agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.

(x) When Cyrus had given orders about every thing relating to the government, he resolved to shew himself publickly to his people, and to his new-conquered subjects, in a solemn august ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought sit to display all possible splendor and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that prince ever aimed at procuring respect to himself, not only by the attractions of virtue (says the historian) but by such an external pomp, as was proper to attract the multitude, and work'd like a \* charm or inchantment upon their imaginations. He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and

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<sup>(</sup>u) Lamprid. in vita Alex. Sever. (x) Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 213. 220.

<sup>\*</sup> Αλλά κὰ καταγουτεύειν άστο χρώναι αὐτώς.

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allies to attend him, and gave each of them a fuit of cloaths after the Median fashion, that is to say, long garments, which hung down to the feet. These cloaths were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroider'd with gold and filver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers. Twas on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of the Medes, (y) and begun to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more lively, and in painting their faces, in order to beautify their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company affembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two fides of it rang'd in the fame order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The charlots of war were ranged, half on one fide, and half on the other. As foon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls, of exquisite beauty, were led out by four and four : these were to be facrificed to Jupiter and other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next follow'd the horses, that were to be facrificed to the fun, Immediately after them a white charlot, crown'd with flowers, the pole of which was guilt : this was to be offer'd to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the fame colour, and adorn'd in the same manner, to be offer'd to the fun. After these follow'd a third, the horses of which were capacifon'd with scarlet housings. Behind came the men, who carried the facred fire in a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright Tiara upon his head, encircled with the royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mix'd with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncover'd. A little below him fat his mafter of the horse, who was of a comely frature,

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flature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the flature of the latter appear'd still more advantageously. Assoon as the people perceiv'd the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipp'd him; whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were mov'd to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendor. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thousand guards began to march: the other two thousand mov'd at the same time, and placed themselves on each side the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's houshold, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them follow'd two hundred led horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroider'd furniture, and bits of gold. Next tame the Persian cavalry, divided into sour bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, sour in a breast, march'd in the rear, and closed the procession.

When they came to the fields confectated to the gods, they offer'd their facrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the sun. To the honour of the first were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the second, horses. They likewise facrificed some victims to the earth, according to the appointment of the Magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of \*Syria.

In order to recreate the people after this grave and folemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He order'd a certain portion of it to be mark'd

<sup>\*</sup> Among the antients, Syria is often put for Affyria.

mark'd out, about the quantity of five \* stadia, and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately, and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for no body was so compleat an horse-man as he. The chariots run but two at a time, one against another.

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This kind of racing continued a long time afterwards amongst the Persians, except only, that it was not always attended with facrifices. All the ceremonies being ended,

they return'd to the city in the same order.

(x) Some days after, Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtain'd in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all his chief officers, as well strangers as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present; so that they all went home with hearts overslowing with joy, admiration and gratitude: and all-powerful as he was, master of all the east, and of so many kingdoms, he did not think it descending from his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners and behaviour of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.

## ARTICLE III.

The history of Cyrus, from the taking of Babylon to the time of bis death.

CYRUS finding himself master of all the east, by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life; to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone thro' He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods

<sup>(</sup>z) Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 22c-224.

<sup>\*</sup> A little above balf a mile.

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methods he had acquir'd it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a continual application to the duties of his high station.

SECT. I. Cyrus takes a journey into Persia. At his return from thence to Babylon, he forms a plan of government for the whole empire. Daniel's credit and power.

(a) TTTHEN Cyrus judg'd he had fufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent prefents, telling him at the fame time, that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle liv'd, held the empire only in copartnership with him, tho' he had entirely conquer'd and acquir'd it by his own valour. Nav. fo far did he carry his complaifance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. (b) This is the Cyaxares, which is called in scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had feveral revelations. It appears, that Cyrus, when he return'd from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

When they were arriv'd there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. (c) They divided it into an hundred and twenty provinces. (d) And that the prince's orders might be convey'd with the greater expedition, Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the expresses, that travelled day and night, sound horses always ready, and by that means perform'd their journeys with incredible dispatch. (e) The government of these provinces were given to those Persons that had affished Cyrus most, and render'd him the greatest service in the war.

(a) P. 227. (b) A. M. 3466, Ant. J. C. 538. (b) Dan, vi. 1. (d) Cyrop. p. 232. (e) P. 230.

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(f) Over these governors were appointed three super-intendants, who were always to refide at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account from time to time of every thing that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and inftructions; fo that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of the great affairs of the whole empire. Of these three Daniel was made the chief. He highly deserv'd such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the east, and had appear'd in a distinguish'd manner at Baltazer's feaft, but likewife on account of his great age, and confummate experience. For at that time it was full fixty-feven years, from the fourth of Nebuchodono. for, that he had been employ'd as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

(g) As this diffinction made him the fecond person in the empire, and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceiv'd so great a jealousy of him, that they conspir'd to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attach'd, they obtain'd an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatfoever, for the space of thirty days, either of any god, or any man, fave of the king: and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was faying his usual prayers, with his face turn'd towards Jerusalem, he was furprifed, accused, and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserv'd, and coming out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in, and immediately devour'd by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputution.

(b) Towards the end of the same year, which was rockon'd the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel, knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determin'd

<sup>(</sup>f) Dan. vi. 2, 3. (g) Dan. vi. 4-27.

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determin'd by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, he pray'd earnestly to God, that he would remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the fanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel affured him in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of fin and fatan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accomplish'd at the end of seventy weeks, that were to pass from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of four hundred and ninety years. For taking each day for a year, according to the language fometimes used in holy scripture. those seventy weeks of years make up actually four hundred and ninety years.

(i) Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they confifted of an hundred and twenty thousand horse, of two thousand chariots arm'd with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. When he had surnish'd the garrisons with as many of them, as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he march'd with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries, as far

as the Red fea, and the confines of Ethiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously deliver'd from

them, as we have just now related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coin'd, which are call'd Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which for their fineness and beauty were for several ages prefer'd to all other money throughout the whole east.

<sup>(</sup>i) Cyrop, p. 233.

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SECT. II. The beginning of the united empire of the Perfians and Medes. The famous edict of Cyrus. Daniel's prophecies.

HERE properly speaking begins the empire of the Perfians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and sounder of it, to Darius Codomannus, who was vanquish'd by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundrad and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the three first kings; and little remains to be said of the sounder of this new empire.

CYRUS. (k) Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyles likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus return'd to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the em-

pirc.

(1) The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make the duration of it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time, when by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years precisely expir'd the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus publish'd the samous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtain'd by the care and sollicitations of Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him this request, he shew'd him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah, wherein above two hundred years before his birth, he was mark'd out by name, as a prince appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and at the

(k) A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536. (I) Cic. l. I. de Div. n. 46. (m) Ha. c. xliv. & xlv.

fame time to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be reposses of by their antient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper in this place to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be presumed God had endow'd him with so many heroic virtues, and blest him with such an uninterrupted series of victories and success.

(n) In the first year of Cyrus, king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that be had promised by the mouth of Feremy, the Lord raifed up the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Perfians; and be made proclamation through all bis kingdom, and also by writing, saying, Thus faith Cyrus, king of the Perfians, the Lord of Ifrael, the most high Lord, bath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build bim an boufe at Ferufalem in Fewry. If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with bim, and let bim go up to ferufalem that is in Judea, and build the bouse of the Lord of Israel; for be is the Lord, that dwelleth in Jerusalem. Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help bim (those, I fay, that are his ueighbours) with gold and with filver, with gifts, with borfes, and with cattle and other things, which have been fee forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at Ferufalem.

Cyrus restor'd at the same time to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nebuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god Baal. Shortly after the Jews departed, under the conduct of Zoro-

babel, to return into their own country.

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(e) The Samaritans, who had formerly been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevail'd by bribes and under-hand dealings with the ministers and other officers concern'd therein, to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on very slowly.

It

(p) It feems to have been out of grief to fee the execution of this decree fo long retarded, that in the third year of Cyres, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

\* By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter, we have reason to conjecture, that he died soon after; and indeed his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for at this time he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives. From that early age he had given proofs of something more than human wisdom, in the judgment of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much considered by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. (q) Josephus speaks of a samous edisce built by him at † Susa, in the manner of a castle (which he says still subsisted in his time) and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful, as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace, the Persan and Parthian kings were usually buried; and for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. It was a common tradition in those

(p) A. M. 3470. Ant. J. C. 534. Dan. x. 1-3.

according to St. Jerom, who relates the same fact, Com. in Dan. viii. 2. and not Echatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus.

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<sup>\*</sup> But go thou thy way till
the end be; for thou shalt rest,
and stand in thy lot at the end
of the days. Dan. xii. 13.

† So it ought to be read,

parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that \* city, and there they shew his monument even to this day. 'Tis certain that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us, that (r) be did the king's business there, that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

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Reflections upon Daniel's prophecies.

I have hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. (1) I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years reflored again to his understanding and to his throne. 'Tis well known, the thing happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction: the king himself relates it in a declaration, addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar. if it had not been genuine; to speak of it, as a thing fent into all the provinces, if no-body had feen it; and in the midft of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of so important a matter, and so injurious to the king, and of which the falshood must have been notorious to all the world?

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which fignify the succession of four great empires, and which for that reason have an essential and necessary relation to the subject-matter of this work, which is only the history of those very empires.

(t) The first of these prophecies was occasioned by the dream Nebuchadnezzar had, of an image composed of different metals, gold, filver, brass and iron; which image was broke in pieces, and beat as small as dust by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary

(r) Dan. viii. 27. (s) Dan. iv. (r) Dan. ii.

\* Now called Tufter.

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traordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have already (u) fpoken of at large.

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About fifty \* years after, the same Daniel saw another vision, very like that which I have just been speaking of: this was the vision of the four large beafts, which came out of the fea. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings; the fecond was like a bear; the third was like a leopard. which had four heads; the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. From the midst of the ten horns, which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man. and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the other: the fame horn made war with the faints, and prevailed against them, until the antient of days, that is, the everlafting God, came, and fitting upon his throne, furrounded with a thousand millions of angels, pronounced an irreverfible judgment upon the four beafts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of man power over all the nations, and all the tribes, an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed, that these two visions, the one of the image composed of different metals, the other of the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the † Romans. This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could

(u) P. 94, 95.

+ Some interpreters instead

<sup>\*</sup> This was the first year of the Romans put the kings of of Baltazar, king of Babylon. Syria and Egypt Alexander's Dan. vii.

could reveal the changes of empires to him, but he only who is the mafter of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who by a Tapernatural revelation imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleafes? \*

(t) In the following chapter this prophet still speaks with greater clearness and precision. For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beafts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner: the ram, which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Perfians; the goat, which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel fee, that the Perfian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Perfians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee th rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he fo aptly describes by saying, that be touched not the ground? How did he learn, that Alexander should not have any fuccessor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? + By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover, that Alexander would have no fon to succeed him; that his empire would be difmembered and divided into four principal kingdoms; and his fuccesfors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy of before I conclude this article of Dans

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\* He changeth the times and the scasons; he removeth and setteth up kings. He revealeth the deep and secret things; and the light dwelleth with him. Dan. ii. 21, 22.

† And a mighty king shall fand up, that shall rule with great dominions and his king-

ACT MELL

dom shall be divided towards the four winds of beaven, and not to his posserity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled, Dan. xi. 3, 4. (Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power, Dan, viii, 22.

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The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less aftonishing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign, \* foretel, that the + fourth of Cyrus's successors should gather together all his forces, to attack the Grecian flates? How could this prophet, who lived fo long before the times of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the perfecutions, which Antiochus would, bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the facrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the prophanation of that holy place, by fetting up an idol therein: and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it? (4) How could he, in the first year of the Persian em. pire, foretel the wars, which Alexander's fuccessors would make in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invalions of one another's territories, their infincerity in their treaties, and their marriage-alliances, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious defigns?

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the conclusion, which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel; for they are so clear and express, that Porphyry (x), a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them, but by pretending, that they were writ after the events, and rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must defire the reader to remark what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between the empires of the world and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former every thing appears great, splendid and magnificent. Strength, power, glory and mainstrain

(u) Dan. xi. 5-45. ad Com. in Dan. (x) S. Hieron, in Procem,

<sup>\*</sup> Bebold, there shall stand bis strength thro' bis riches be up yet three kings in Persia, shall stir up all against the and the fourth shall be far realm of Grecia. Dan. xi. 2. richer than they all; and by † Xerxes.

jefty feem to be their natural attendants. In them we eafily differn those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror every where, and whom nothing could withfrand. But then they are represented as wild beafts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to defiroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors! How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as their founders, or governors!

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In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us confider its origin and first rife, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find, that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been one of its true characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet in reality there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The end of his reign is the falvation of mankind; 'tis to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who are all of them so many kings and conquerors. 'Tis for their' fakes only, that the whole world doth subfist; and when the number of them shall be complete, (x) "Then (fays St. Paul) cometh the end and con-" fummation of all things, when Jefus Christ shall have de-" livered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when " he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and " power."

Can a writer, who sees in the prophecies of Daniel that the several empires of the world, after having sublisted the ime determined for them by the fovereign disposer of kingoms, do all terminate and center in the empire of Jesus Christ: can a writer, I say, amidst all these profane objects, orbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and livine one, and not have it always in view, at least at a dif-

ance, as the end and confummation of all others?

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SECT. III. The last years of Cyrus. The death of that prince.

Let T us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and by those of the connered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his latours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by he river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine seas, on the west by the Egean sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months of the year at Babylon in the winter season, because of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring time, and two months at Ecbatana, during the heat of the summer.

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, which was the seventh time from his accession to the whole monarchy: and this shews, that he used to go regularly into Persia once a year. Cambyses had been now dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had passed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares,

To the very last he \* enjoyed a vigorous state of health, which was the fruit of his sober and temperate life. And as they, who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery, often feel all the infirmitles of age, even whilst they are young, Cyrus on the contrary in a very advanced age enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

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## (y) Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 233, &c.

\* Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo fermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum fenex esset, negat se un-

quam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam, quam adolescentia susset. Cic. de Senect. n. 39.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the flate, to be affembled about him; and after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldeft son, Cambyses, his fuccessor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaoxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support of the throne was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches; but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. " I conjure you there-" fore, faid he, my dear children, in the name of the gods, " to respect and love one another, if you would retain any " defire to please me for the future. For I do not think you " will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will " not fee me after my death. You never faw my foul to " this instant : you must have known however by its actions " that it really existed. Do you believe, that honours would " be still paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if " their fouls had no longer any being or power? No, no, " my fons, I could never imagine, that the foul only lived " whilst in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. "But if I mistake, and nothing of me shall remain after " death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who set all things, " and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear " prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing " contrary to religion and justice. Next to them fear mankind, " and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in " objeurity, but have exposed you upon this great thestre " to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are " guiltless and upright, be assured they will augment your " glory and power. For my body, my fons, when life has " forfook it, inclose it neither in gold nor filver, nor any " other matter whatfoever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATE-" LY TO THE BARTH. Can it be more happy than in be-

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"ing blended, and in a manner incorporated with the benefactress, and common mother of human kind?" After having given his hand to be kiffed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death, he added these last words: "Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy; carry my last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewel, and may you live in peace." (2) After having said this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.

The order given by Cyrus to RESTORE HIS BODY TO THE EARTH, is in my opinion very remarkable. He would have thought it diffraced and injured, if inclosed in gold or fliver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, fays he. Where did that prince learn, that it was from thence it derived its original. Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of human race, to perpetuate that

good, in fome measure, even after his death.

Character and praise of Cyrus,

Cyrus may justly be considered, as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince to be found in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble fentiments, a wonderful ability in managing mens tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and an equal steadiness and prudence for executing the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes, who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are associated, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low senti-

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ments and mean things they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealoufy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable and odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these desects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the most indifferent matters. Being affured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access: and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending, humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection, and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater mafter of the art of infinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantage may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a command tempered with reason, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a resulal with expressions of concern and good-will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a fort of wealth, which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendor and affluence, with which they are surrounded. \*Cyrus was beloved because he himself had a love for others: for has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing affects us more, than to see in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity, as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, tho' of an inferior station.

<sup>\*</sup> Habes amicos, quia amicus iple es. Paneg. Trajan.

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The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. (a) His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command to tell him whatever they thought. And tho' he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing, without asking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make changes in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own: so different was he from the person mentioned by Tacitus, (b) who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself: Consilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipse non afferer, inimicus.

(c) Cicero observes, that during the whole time of Cyrus's government he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit. What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have been a very great master of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure, that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents should ever russe its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But, what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his stedsast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people; (d) and that it was not by the splendor of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and secure the public welfare and tranquillity. He said

(a) Plut. 1. 3. de Leg. p. 694. (b) Hift. 1. 1. c. 26. (c) Lib. 1. Epift. 2. ad Q. fratrem. (d) Cyrop. 1. 1. p. 27.

faid himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers, upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to confider himself as a \* shepherd; (the image under which both facred and prophane antiquity represented good kings) and that he ought to have the same vigilance, care and goodness, " It " is his duty (fays he) to watch, that his people may live " in fafety and quiet; to charge himself with anxieties and " cares, that they may be exempt from them; to chuse " whatever is falutary for them, and to remove what is " hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in feeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person " in their defence and protection. This (fays he) is the " natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is rea-" fonable at the fame time, that his subjects should render " him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more " reasonable, that he should labour to make them happy; " because it is for that very end that he is their king, as " much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care " of his flock."

Indeed to be the commonwealth's guardian, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their fovereign, is but one and the fame thing, A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and soundation of the condition of princes is not to be for themselves: the very character of their greatness is, that that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be consider'd as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these any disparagement to the dignity of the regal state?

'Twas by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus founded such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoy'd the fruits of his conquests for several years; that he made himself so much esteem'd and belov'd, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquer'd;

<sup>\*</sup> Thou shalt feeding people, said God to David, 2 Sam. v. 2. Hospire haar, Homer, in many places.

conquer'd; that after his death he was univerfally regretted

as the common father of all the people.

We ought not for our parts to be surprized, that Cyrus was fo accomplish'd in every virtue (it will easily be understood, that I speak only of pagan virtues) because we know. 'twas God himfelf, who had form'd him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious defigns towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had form'd this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any fensible miracle, or that he immediately made him fuch, as we admire him in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy genius, and implanted in his mind the feeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But above all he took care, that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great defigns for which he intended him. We may venture to fay, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to his education, where the confounding him in some fort with the rest of the fubjects, and the keeping him under the fame subjection to the authority of his teachers, ferv'd to eradicate that pride, which is fo natural to princes; taught him to hearken to ad. vice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and fobriety; and in a word rendered him fuch, as we have feen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more fo to flattery.

It must be confessed, that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts, that heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this truth; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation, that all good kings are the gift of God, and that such a gift includes many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chast and virtuous

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virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view, than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portraiture, which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance with that of Cyrus. (a) Nullum est praflabilius & pulcrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam caffus, &

fanctus, & Deo simillimus princeps.

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, methinks there feems to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly, I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue try'd by fome fudden turn of fortune. I know indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Pifo, told him that the ftings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity, and that the former put the foul to a much severer trial than the latters (b) Fortunam adbuc tantum adversam tulisti : secunda res acrioribus simulis explorant animos, And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon a man's foul, the exerts herfelf, and fummons all her frength to bear up the burden; whereas prosperity attacking the mind fecretly or infentibly, leaves it all its weakness, and infinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle : Quia miseria toleranture felicitate for that of force; who look I wan the constitution that

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great luftre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been conceal'd in the bosom of profpenity; as a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest frokes of fortune; an intrepidity of foul animated at the fight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients improving even from croffes and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views, and provides against every thing; and lastly, a firm-

has retinere privata don (a) Paneg. Traj. (b) Hift. lib. 1. c. 15.

neis of foul, that not only fuffices to itself, but is capable of

furporting others.

(c) Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himself informs us, that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident; and that in all his defigns the fuccess had answer'd his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us at the same time with another thing almost incredible, and which was the fource of all that moderation and evenness of temper, so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admir'd; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity, he still preserv'd in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the changes and misfortunes that might happen: And this prudent fear was not only a (d) preservative against infolence, but even against intemperate joy.

There remains one point more to be examin'd, with regard to this prince's reputation and character; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests, upon which I shall touch but lightly. If these were founded only upon ambition, injustice and violence, Cyrus would be fo far from meriting the praises bestow'd upon him, that he would deserve to be rank'd among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind, \* who acknowledged no right but that of force; who look'd upon the common rules of juffice as laws which only private persons were obliged to obferve, and derogatory to the majefty of kings; who let no other bounds to their defigns and pretentions, than their incapacity of carrying them any further; who facrific'd the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory confift in spreading desolation and destruction, like fires and torrents; and + who reign'd as bears and lions would do, This if they were masters.

(c) Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 234. (d) 'Oux eia miga proveir, Bo' suppaireo das en mentaméros.

\* Id in fumma fortuna 15. cap. 1. æquius quod validius. Et fua retinere privatæ domûs: de alienis certare regiam lau- de Clem. lib. 1. cap. 26. dem este. Tacit. Annal, lib.

+ Quæ alia vita effet, fi leones urfique regnarent? Sen.

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This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes the world admires; and by fuch ideas as these, we ought to correct the impression made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the fentiments of many deceived by false images of greatness,

I do not know, whether I am not biaffed in favour of Cyrus: but he feems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now defrib'd. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the foul of all his undertakings; but he certainly reverenced the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, which whoever undertakes without a just foundation renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed o Now every war is of this fort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests; of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his heighbourse

an(4) Cyrus, as we have feeling atother beginning of the war founded all his hopes of fuccess on the justice of his caule, and represented to his foldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater gourage and confidence, that they were not the aggreffort; that it was the chemy that attacked them grand that therefore them were gentitled to the protection of the gods, who feemld themselves to have put their arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjuffly oppreffed it If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquelts, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Creekis, king of Lydia, who was mafter of the greatest part of the lesself. Asia avand over the king of Babylon, who was mafter of all upper Afia, and and many other countries; both which princes were the torn d by Florrague who he was, and being encusroflerggs

With good reason therefore is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which it could

<sup>(</sup>e) Cyrop. 1. 1. p. 25. (f) Fier l. t. c. 10

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not be, unless justice had been the basis and foundation of it:

\* Cyrus à Xenophonte scriptut ad justi effigient imperit and sould re-

SECT. IV. Wherein Herodotus and Kenophon differ in their accounts of Cyrus.

Herodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in the fubitance and most effective part of Cyrus's history, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests, yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give succinct account of what Herodotus relates as the these points, to only depend of a point of the points, to only depend of a point of the points, to only depend of the points, to only depend of the points.

(f) He tells us, as Justino does after him, that Affyages, king of the Medes, being warn'd by arifrightful dream. that the fon, who was to be born of his daughter, would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandana to a Perfian of an obscure birth and fortune, whose Name was Cambyfes? This daughter being deliver'd of a fon; the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to defrey; the infant, He, instead of killing the childe put it into the hands of one of the king's fhepherds, and order'd him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously prefervid, and fecretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards known to be the fame by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Perfia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and entertain'd with the flesh of his own fon. Several years after, young Cyrus, being inform'd by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, march'd against Astyages, came to a battle, and defeated him, and to transfer'd the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

(f) Her. l. 1. c. 107-130. Justin. l. 1. c. 4, 6, \* Cic. l. 1. Epist, 1. ad Q. fratrem.

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(g) The fame Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming fo great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, carry'd his arms against the Scythians; and, after baving attack'd them, in the first battle feign'd a flight, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to feize the booty. When they had drank largely and were alleep, Cyrus return'd upon them, and obtain'd an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young captive prince, whom Cyrus refus'd to reflore to his mother, being recover'd from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to see himself a prisoner, kill'd himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with the defire of revenges gave the Persians a second battle, and seigning a slight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and kill'd above two hundred thousand of their men, together with their king, Cyrus, Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, the flung it into a veffel full of blood, infulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words, \* Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of subich thy thirst has always been infamary and wonderful things, and was bery-credulous. tiable.

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy, and first adventures, has much more the air of a romance, than of an hiftory. And, as to the manner of his death, what probability is there, that a prince to experienc'd in war, and no less renown'd for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuseade laid by a woman for him? (b) What the same historian relates concerning his hafty violent passion, and his childish revenge upon the river, in which one of his facred horses was drown'd, and which he immediately caus'd to be cut by his army into three hundred and fixty channels, is directly repugnant to the

<sup>(</sup>g) Her. l. 1. c. 205-214. Justin. I. 1. c. 8.

<sup>(</sup>b) Her. l. 1. c. 189.

<sup>\*</sup> Satia te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitisti, cujusque infatiabilis semper fuisti. Just. 1. 1. c. 8. + Gyndes.

idea we have of Cyrus, who was a prince of extraordinary moderation and temper. Befides, (i) is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardor of his troops in such an unprositable piece of work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But, what decides this point unantwerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between him and the holy scripture; where we see, that instead of Cyrus's having rais'd the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes (as Herodotus relates it) those two nations attack'd Babylon together, and united their forces, to reduce the formidable

power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence then could so great a difference, as there is between these two historians, proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place, where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us, that even at that time those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus follow'd that which pleased him best, for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and was very credulous. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and of less credulity; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education, and character.

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## The biftory of Camby fes.

A S foon as Cambyfes was feated in the throne, he refolv'd to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis: of this I have already given an account. But 'tis more probable, that Amasis, who had submitted

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<sup>(</sup>i) Sen. 1. 3. de Ira, c. 21. (k) A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529. Her. 1. 3. c. 1.—3.

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fubmitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself, by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.

(1) Cambyses, in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phonicians furnish'd him with ships. As for his land-army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who being the commander of fome auxiliary Greeks, in the fervice of Amasis, and being some way or other diffatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyfes, and gave him fuch intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories lay bet ween the confines of Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during their march thro' the defart, that lay between those two countries: which agreement that prince fulfill'd, by fending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyfes could never have march'd his army that way.

(m) Having made all these preparations, he invaded Egypt in the sourth year of his reign. When he was arriv'd upon the frontiers, he was inform'd that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyses could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side he invaded it. 'Now Pelusium was so strong a place, that in all likelihood it must have stopp'd him a great while. But according to Polyenus, to facilitate this enterprise, (n) Cambyses invented the following stratagem. Being inform'd, that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the

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front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were look'd upon as facred by that nation; and then attack'd the city by storm. The foldiers of the garrison not daring either to sling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of those animals, Cambyses became master of the place without opposition.

(e) When Cambyses had got possession of the city, Psammenitus advanced with a great army, to stop his progress; and a considerable battle ensued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks, who were in Psammenitus's army, in order to be reveng'd of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, cut their throats between the two camps, and in presence of the two armies, drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Persians, enraged at so horrid a spectacle, fell upon them with great sury, quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greatest part were kill'd upon the spot. Those that could save themselves escap'd to Memphis.

(p) On occasion of this battle Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, of which he himself was a witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were still in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from one another. The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that a violent stroke of a stone would hardly break them; and those of the Persians so soft, that you might break them, or pierce them thro', with the greatest case imaginable. The reason of this difference was, that the former from their infancy were accustom'd to have their heads shav'd, and to go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always cover'd with their tiara's, which is one of their principal ornaments.

(q) Cambyses, having pursued the run-aways to Memphis, fent an herald into the city, in a vessel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to surrender. But the people, transported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were with

(o) Her. 1, 3. c, 11. (p) C. 12. (q) C. 13.

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with him. Cambyses, having soon after taken the place. fully reveng'd the indignity, caufing ten times as many Egyptians, of the prime nobility, as there had been of his people maffacred, to be publickly executed. Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself. Cambyses was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, did what he could to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but fix months; after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this succels the Lybians, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all fent embaffadors with prefents to Cambyles, to make him their submissions.

(q) From Memphis he went to the city of Sais, which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. Assoon as he enter'd the palace, he caus'd the body of Amasis to be taken out of its tomb; and, after having expos'd it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he order'd it to be cast into the fire, and to be burnt; which was a thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage this prince testified against the dead carcass of Amasis shews to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives Cambyses had of carrying his arms into Egypt.

(r) The next year, which was the fixth of his reign, he refolv'd to make war in three different countries; against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phonicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to succour him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a

Tyrian colony.

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(s) But, being determin'd to invade the other two nations, he fent embassiadors into Ethiopia, who under that character

were to act as spies for him, to learn the state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were us'd to make, as purple, golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. These presents, amongst which there was nothing useful, or serviceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his embaffadors, whom they took for what they really were, spies and enemies in disguise. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing after his way to make a prefent to the king of Persia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarce lift it, he drew it in presence of the embassadors, and told them: " This is the present and the counsel the king " of Ethiopia gives the king of Persia. When the Persians " shall be able to use a bow, of this bigness and strength, " with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let them " come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops

" with them than Cambyses is master of. In the mean time let them thank the gods for not having put it into the

" hearts of the Ethiopians to extend their dominions beyond

" their own country."

(t) This answer having enraged Cambyses, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering, that he neither had provisions, nor any thing necessary for such an expedition: but he left the Grecians behind him, in his new-conquer'd country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

(u) Affoon as he arrived at Thebes, in upper Egypt, he detach'd fifty thousand of his men against the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was famous there. But, after they had made several days march in the desart, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all over whelm'd, and bury'd under it.

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In the mean time, Cambyles march'd forwards like a mad man towards the Ethiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all forts of provisions; which quickly caus'd a terrible famine in his army. He had still time, fays Herodotus, to remedy this evil: but Cambyles would have thought it a dishonour to have defisted from his undertaking, and therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees: But, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden. At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity, as to be oblig'd to eat one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doom'd to ferve as meat for his companions; a meat, fays Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself: (x) Decimum quenque fortiti, alimentum babuerunt fame servius. Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miferable defolation of his army make him fenfible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid for his own person, he order'd them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and camels were still referv'd to carry his kitchen furniture, and the inftruments of his luxury : (y) Servabantar illi interim generosa aves, & instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis male periret, quis pejus viveret.

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes, (z) where he succeeded much better in the war he declared against the gods, whom he found more easy to be conquer'd than men. Thebes was full of temples, that were incredibly rich and magnificent. All these Cambyses pillaged, and then set them on fire. The richness of these temples must have been vastly great, since the very remains, sav'd from the slames, amounted to an immense sum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. (a) He likewise

<sup>(</sup>x) De Ira, 1. 3. c. 20. (y) Ibid. (z) Diod. Sic. 1. 1. p. 43. (a) Ibid. p. 46.

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likewise carried away at this time the samous circle of gold, that encompassed the tomb of king Ozymandias, being three hundred and sifty-sive cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.

(b) From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he dismis'd all the Greeks, and fent them to their respective homes: but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this to have been for the ill fuccess of his expedition. He therefore call'd the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these public rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caus'd them to be put to death, as impostors that infulted him and his misfortunes. And then he fent for the priefts, who made him the fame answer: upon which he replied, that fince their god was fo kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But, when instead of a god he saw a calf, he was strangely aftonish'd, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and fun it into the thigh of the beaft; and then upbraiding the priefts for their stupidity, in worshipping a brute for a god, order'd them to be feverely whipp'd, and all the Egyptions in Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be flain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died. The remainder of his turny, of w

(c) The Egyptians fay, that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety, that ever was committed among them, Cambyses grew mad. But his actions shew'd him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: among the rest are these following.

(d) He had a brother, the only fon of Cyrus befides himfelf, and born of the fame mother: His name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis.

(b) Her. 1. 3. c. 27-29. (c) Ibid. c. 30. (d) Ibid.

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dis, and Justin Mergis. He accompanied Cambyses in his Egyptian expedition. But being the only person among all the Persians, that could draw the bow, which Cambyses's embaffadors brought him from the king of Ethiopia, Cambyfis from hence conceived fuch a jealoufy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but fent him back into Perlia. And not long after dreaming, that somebody told him that Smetdis fat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the throne, and sent after him into Persia Prexaspes, one of his chief confidents, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed. I alto soning latured

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(e) This murder was the cause of another still more criminal. Cambyfes had with him in the camp his youngest fifter. whose name was Meroe. Herodotus acquaints us after what a strange manner his fifter became his wife. As the princels was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyles absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them, whether there was any law, that would allow a brother to marsy a fifter. The judges, being unwilling on one hand directly to authorise such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, endeavour'd to find out a falvo, and gave him this crafty answer. That they had no law indeed which permitted a brother to marry his fifter, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. Which serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he folemnly marry'd her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practifed by most of his successors, and by some of them carried fo far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being Meroe, he from her gave that name to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it ; for so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethios plans. The thing, that gave occasion to his murdering this princefs. h

(B)

princes, was as follows. One day Cambyles was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog: the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his affistance, and help'd him to master the lion. This adventure mightily delighted Camby. see, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed, that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not had the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deferved no better an end string pass supposed.

alo (of )q He caus'd also several of the principal of his followers to be duried alive, and daily facrificed forme or other of them to his wild fory. He had obliged Prexaloes, one of his principal officers and favourites, mod declare to him what his Perlian Subjects thought and fallod Mimon of her admire ( flays Prexaspes) la great many excellent qualities they fee "in you, but they are formewhat mortified a dayour" illimode-Strate love of wine. "redso Inanderstand vou freply a the 6 king) that is, they pretend that wine deprives the of my reafon. You mall be judge of that immediately, suo Upon which he began to drink exceffively pouring it down in larger quantitles, than ever he had done at any time before, Then ordering Protaspes's fon, who was his chief cup Bearer, to fland upright and the enth of the 160m, with his left fland upon his head, he took his bow, and level'd it at him; and declaring that he aim'd at his heart, let fly, and actually that him in the heart. He then order'd his fide to be open'd, and thewing the father the heart of his fon, which the arrow had pierced, afk'd him in an infulting fcoffing marner, if he had not a fleady hand. The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining after a froke like this, was for mean-spirited as to reply . Apollo himself " could not have that beten" Seneca, who copied this

(f) Her. 1. 3. c. 34, 35. Sent 1. 3. de Ira, c. 14.

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whi man flory from Herodotus, after having thewn his deteriation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns till more the cowardly and monitrous flattery of the father: Sceleratus them illed laudatum eff. quam on flum.

telum illud laudatum eff, quam enflum.

(g) When Croclus took upon him to advice Cambyles against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill confequences they would lead to, he order a him to be put to death. And, when those who received his orders, knowing the would repent of it the next day, deferr a the execution he caused them all to be put to death, because they had not overy dries commands, the at the same time he expressed great joy that Croclus was alive.

It was about this time, Oreces, one of Cambyles's sarrapa,

It was about this time. Oretes, one of Cambyles's fatrape, who had the government of Sardis, after a very fittange and extraordinary manner brought about the death of Polygrates, tyrant of Samos. The flory of this Polygrates is of lo ingover a nature, that the reader will not be displeaded, if I repeat it here,

(b) This Polycrates was a prince, who through the whole course of his life had been perfectly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment, or unfortunate accident, to disturb his selicity. Amanis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. In this letter he declared to him, that he had terrible apprehensions concerning his condition; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be superfeed; that some malignant, invidious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly sooner on later bring ruin and destruction upon him; that, in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some missfortune to himself, by some voluntary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.

The tyrrant followed this advice. Having an emerald ring, which he mightily effected, particularly for its curious more manship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys.

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<sup>(</sup>g) Her, 1. 3. c. 36. (b) I

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leys, with his courtiers, he threw it into the fea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, fome filhermen, having caught a fifth of an extraordinary bigness, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fifth came to be opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His furnise was very great, and his joy still greater.

When Amalis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He wiit another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that, to avoid the mortification of feeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange, whimpical notion this! as it friendship was merely a name,

or a title, destitute of all substance and reality.

(1) Be that as it will, the thing however did really happen, as the Egyptian king apprehended. Some years after, about the time Cambyles fell fick, Oretes, who, as I faid before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to hear the reproach, which another fatrapa had made him in a private quarre, of his not having yet conquered the ille of Samos, which lay to hear his government, and to commodious for his mafter; oretes upon this resolved at any rate to defiroy Polycrates, this his might get pollethion of the illand. The way he took to effect his derigh was this. He reigned an inclination upon some precended discontent to revolt from Cambyles; but must be take care, he faid how to lecure his treature, and effects; for which end he was determined to deposit the lame in the hands of Polycrates, and at the same time, make him a prefent of one half of it, which would enable him to conquer Ionia, and the adjacent illands, a thing he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and pathonately everted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bart before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not railly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more burely of the truth of the matter, and to that end fent a mellenger of his own to Sardis. When he

(i) Ibid. c. 120-125.

(g) Her, i 3, c. 36.

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came there, they shewed him a vast number of bags full of, gold, as he thought, but in truth filled with stones, and having only the mouth of them covered over with gold. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends; and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival Oretes had him arrested, as an enemy to the state, and as such caused him to be hanged: in such an ignominious and shameful manner did he end a life, which had been but one

continued feries of prosperity and good fortune.

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(k) Cambyses, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return into Persia. When he came into Syria, he found an herald there, fent from Sufa to the army, to let them know, that Smerdis, the fon of Cyrus, was proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in this manner, byses, at his departure from Sula on his Egyptian expedition. had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patifithes, one of the chief of the Magi. tifithes had a brother extremely like Smerdis, the fon of Cyrus, and who perhaps for that reason was called by the fame name. As foon as Patifithes was fully affured of the death of that prince, which was concealed from the public. knowing at the fame time, that Cambyles indulged his extravagance to fuch a degree that he was grown insupportable. he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out, that he was the true Smerdis, the fon of Cyrus; and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

(1) Cambyles caused the herald, that came with these orders into Syria, to be arrested; and, having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he, who had usurped the throne, was no other

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than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that, being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to deftroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the usurper. But, as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of its scabbard, and gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians remarking, that it was in the same part of the body, where he had wounded their god Apis, reckoned it as a judgment upon him for that sacrilegious impiety.

(m) While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus, which was famous in that country, he was told, that he should die at Ecbatana; which understanding of Ecbatana in Media, he resoloved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria, For the town, where he lay fick of his wound, was of the same name, being also called Echatana, Of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled all the chief of the Persians together, and representing to them the true state of the case, that it was Smerdis, the Magian, who had ofurped the throne, earneftly exhorted them not to fubmit to that impostor, nor to fuffer the fovereignty to pals from the Perfians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take eare to let up a king over them of their own people. The Persians, thinking that he had faid all this out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; but upon his death quietly submitted to him, whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.

(n) Cambyles reigned seven years and five months. In scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made their addresses directly to him, desiring him to hinder the building of their temple. And their application was not in vain. Indeed he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his father's memory, but in a

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great measure frustrated its intent, by the many discouragements he laid the Jews under; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign.

#### CHAP. III.

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The bistory of Smerdis the Magian.

THIS prince is called in scripture Artaxerxes. As soon as he was settled in the throne, by the death of Cambyses, (o) the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him, setting forth what a turbulent, seditious and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter they obtained an order from the king prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any farther in the building of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years.

The Magian, fensible how important it was for him, that the imposture should not be discovered, affected, according to the custom of the eastern monarchs in those times, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there transact all his affairs by the intercourse of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his most intimate considents to his presence.

(p) And, the better to secure himself in the possession of the throne he had usurped, he studied from his first accession to gain the affections of his subjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military service for three years: and did so many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by the generality of the Persians, on the revolution that happened afterwards.

(q) But these very precautions, he made use of to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility or the people, did but make it the more suspected, that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessors wives, and among the rest Atossa a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the Y 2

<sup>(</sup>e) A. M. 3482. Ant. J. C. 522. I Edd. iv. 7-14.

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first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really Smerdis, the fon of Cyrus, or some other man. She anfwered, that having never feen Smerdis, the fon of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then by a second message defired her to inquire of Atoffa (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or not. Whereupon she informed him, that the present king kept all his wives apart, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore the could not come at Atoffa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime, he told her, that if the person she lay with had ears, she might satisfy herself, that he was Smerdis the fon of Cyrus; but if not, he was Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to, and finding that the person she lay with had no ears, she fent word to her father of it, whereby the whole fraud was discovered.

(r) Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five more of the chief Persian nobility; and Darius, an illustrious Persian nobleman, whose father Hystaspes was governor of \*Persia, coming very seasonably, as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the affociation, and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great secrecy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered.

(s) While they were concerting their measures, an extraordinary occurrence, which they had not the least expectation of, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him, that he would publickly declare before the

(r) C. 70-73. (s) C. 74, 75. \* The province fo called.

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people, who were to be affembled for that purpose, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day, Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had killed with his own hand Smerdis the son of Cyrus, by Cambyses's order; that the person who now possessed the throne was Smerdis the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed, by compulsion, and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. 'Tis easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

(t) The conspirators, without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected. For the outer guard, knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not fo much as ask them any questions. But coming near the king's apartment, and finding the officers there unwilling to give them admittance, they drew their feymitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their paffage. Smerdis the Magian, and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded feme of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himfelf, but was purfued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having feized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius was afraid to kill him, left at the same time he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that restrained him, obliged him to run his fword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with fo much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian. without hurting his companion.

(u) In the same instant, with their hands all besmeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads

of the false Smerdis, and his brother Patisithes, to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this the people grew so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon their whole sect, and slew as many of them as they could find. For which reason the day, on which this was done, thenceforward became an annual sestival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called The slaughter of the Magi; nor durst any of that

fect appear in public upon that festival.

When the tumult and disorder, inseparable from such an event, were appealed, the lords, who had flain the usurper, entered into confultation among themselves what fort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy, strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniencies, to which that form of government is liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man is almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring for a popular government. Megabyfus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had faid against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion. "A king. " faid he, knows what he does: but the people neither know, " nor hear any thing; and blindly give themselves up to " those that know how to amuse them." He therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wife and experienced persons. Darius, who fpoke laft, shewed the inconveniencies of an aristocracy, otherwife called oligarchy; wherein reign distrust, envy, dissenfions, and ambition, all natural fources of faction, fedition, and murder; for which there is usually no other remedy than fubmitting to one man's authority; and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the fafest, and the most advantageous; inexpressibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations, "In short, 66 faid

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"feems decifive and undeniable, to what form of govern"ment is owing the present greatness of the Persian empire?
"Is it not to that which I am now recommending?" Darius's opinion was embraced by the rest of the lords; and they resolved, that the monarchy should be continued on the same foot whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

(x) The next question was to know, which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet, the next morning by fun-rifing, on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city; and he, whose horse first neighed, should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Perfians, they imagined, that taking this course would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to fecure the crown to his mafter. He carried the night before, a mare into the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his mafter's horse. The lords affembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no fooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had fmelt the mare, but he fell a neighing; whereupon Darius was faluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the fon of Hystaspes, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes.

(y) The Persian empire being thus restored and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges. They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all publick affairs were the first to deliver their opinions. Whereas the Persians were their tiara or turban with the top bent backwards, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forwards, because when they attacked the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner the better to know one another in the hurry and consusion. From

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that time forwards, the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors, honoured with the same privilege.

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire, reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

#### CHAP. IV. on and tall borling

The manners and customs of the Assyrians, Babylo-

I SHALL give in this place a joint account of the manners and customs of all these several nations, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make frequent repetitions; and that, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these source heads.

I. Their government.

II. Their art of war.

III. Their arts and sciences: and,

IV. Their religion.

After which I shall lay down the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

# ARTICLE I. Of GOVERNMENT.

A FTER a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these few things: their publick council, wherein the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of their provinces; and the good order observed in their revenues.

SECT. I. Their monarchical form of government. The refpett they paid their kings. The manner of educating their children.

MONARCHICAL, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most univerfal, the best adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and and dent ancidall, vern

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and the least expos'd to the revolutions and vicifitudes incident to states. For these reasons the wifest writers among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have thought fit to prefer this form of government to all others. 'Tis likewife the only form, that was ever establish'd among the eastern nations, a republican government being atterly unknown in that part of the world.

(z) Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne, because in his person, they respected the character of the deity, whose image and vice-gerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the supreme governor of the world, and cloathed with his authority and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people. In this manner did, the pagans themselves in old times both think and speak : (a) Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne bominum genus vice fua fungatur. and saw veb-dit ded bas

These sentiments are very daudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the fupreme power; because it cometh from God; and is entirely appointed for the good of the publick : besides, 'tis evident, that an authority not respected according to the full extent of his commission, must thereby either become vseles, or at least very much limited in the good effects, which ought to flow from it, But in the times of paganism these honours and homages, tho' just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the Christian being the only religion. that has known how to keep within bounds in that particu-\* We honour the Emperor, faid Tertullian, in the name of all the Christians; but in such a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him; that is, as a man, who is next

<sup>(2)</sup> Plut. in Themist. p. 125. ad Princ. indoct. p. 780, (a) Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

<sup>\*</sup> Colimus Imperatorem, eft, à Deo consecutum, & solo ipfi expedit; at hominem a Scap. q . 5 . 30 fog A (3) Deo secundum, & quicquid

ate, were appointed to be his 'r fic, quomodo & nobis licet, & Deo minorem, Tertul. L. ad

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h ons next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone. For this reason he calls in another place the emperor a fecond majesty, inferior to nothing but the first : (b) Religib fecundæ majestatis. Is of metanter

Among the Affyrians, and more particularly among the Perfians, the prince used to be fill'd, The great king, the king of kings. Two reasons might induce those princes to take that oftentatious title. The one, because their empire was form'd of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head the other, because they had several kings, their valfals, either in their court, or dependent upon them.

(7) The crown was hereditary afflong them, descending from father to fon, and generally to the elden. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire tentiled their joy by facrifices, feafts, and all manuer of public rejoicings; and his birth-day was thenceforward an annual fedival. and Thefe fentiments are verk here her of the forming the form

(d) The manner of educating the fulfile mater of the empire is admir'd by Plato, and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince s'education og ent rot bointogs

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurle, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition. But from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the houshold, some of the most approv'd merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young prince's person and health, till he was feven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other mafters, who were to contimue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as foon as his ffrength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wifest, and most virtuous men of the state, were appointed to be his preceptors. Colimus Thiperstorens, ell, à Deo confecaturn, & folo automodo & nobis licet, & Dec minorem, T. M., L. &

<sup>(</sup>b) Apolog. c. 1. p. 35. (c) Plate in Aleib. c. 7. p. 121. (d) Ibid. o iccundum, & cuicolla

favs Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their antient maxims, and the laws of Zororaster, the son of Oromasus, he also infiructed him in the principles of government. The fecond was to accustom him to speak truth, and to administer juflice: The third was to teach him not to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be truly a king and always free master of himself and his defires. The fourth was to fortify his courage against fear, which would have made him a flave and to inspire him with a noble and prudent affurance. so necessary for those that are born to command. Each of these governors excell'd in his way, and was eminent in that part of education affign'd to him. One was particularly distinguish'd for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing: another for his love of truth and justice: this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures: that for a fuperior strength of mind, and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know, whether fuch a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view, was proper to answer the end propos'd: or whether it was possible, that four men should agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably, the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person posses'd of all the qualities they judg'd necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the

importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the fame place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence, with which the young prince was furrounded; by the numerous train of attendants, that paid him with a fervile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and esseminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seem'd to engross all attention; dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation therefore quickly Vol. II.

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debauch'd the prince, and drew him into the reigning pleafures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnam'd Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Alcibiades, who is introduc'd in the dialogue, from whence this observation is taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus, nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their sons, a good education: and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reason to believe, that he was more careful than his predecessors in the point of educating his children; but was not much imitated in that respect by his successors.

SECT. II. The public council, wherein the affairs of flate are considered.

A Sabsolute as the regal authority was among the Perfians, yet was it, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state; a council, which consisted of seven of the princes, or chief lords, of the nation, no less distinguish'd for their wisdom and abilities, than for their extraction. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who enter'd into an association against Smerdis, the Magian, and killed him.

The scripture relates, that Ezra was sent into Judæa, in the name, and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors: (e) From before the king and his seven counsellors. The same scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, That these counsellors were well vers'd in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determin'd any affair of importance

without their advice.

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This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reign'd in Persia, and one of the most deserving, on account of his wisdom and prudence; tho' he had his failings. 'Tis to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are afcrib'd, which have ever fince subfifted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of counsel; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a number of affiftants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding: by which proceeding, he really shew'd a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and supposes a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents, and a narrow capacity, is generally full of himself, and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable he generally is. He thinks it want of respect, to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted, if you feem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice; illorum faciebat cuncta confilio.

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and how jealous soever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he derogated from either, when he instituted that council; for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confin'd entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded, that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to \* govern by the laws; to make

<sup>\*</sup> Regimur à te, & subjecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus. Plin. Paneg. Traj.

them the rule of his will and defire; and to think nothing allowable for him, which they prohibit,

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In the third place, this council, which every where accompanied the king, was a perpetual flanding council, confifting of the greatest men, and the best heads in the kingdom: who, under the direction of the fovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the fource or public order, and the principle of all the wife regulations and transactions at home and abroad. Upon this council the king discharged himself of several weighty cares, which he must otherwise have been over-burden'd with; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved 'Twas by means of this standing council, that the great maxims of the state were preserv'd; the knowledge of its true interest perpetuated: affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and overfights, prevented. For in a public and general council things are difcuffed by unfuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in public matters, are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration: because, tho' as to the executive part, they move only in one particular fphere of business; yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating the public, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mention'd in scripture, that the perfons of which this council confisted, were throughly acquainted with the customs. laws, maxims, and rights of the

kingdom.

Two things, which, as the fcripture inform us, were practifed by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. (f) The first was, their having public registers, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours confer'd

confer'd upon particular persons, were center'd and recorded.

(g) The second was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulalations establish'd, and services done by any particular persons, were exactly entered. These annals were carefully preserv'd, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past; might have a true and clear idea of the state of the kingdom; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain an uniformity in the course of affairs; and in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

### SECT. III. The administration of justice.

TO be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest authority for administring justice. God bath made you king over his people (said the queen of Sheba to Solomon) to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgment unto them. God hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. His design, in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability, or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for the restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any persons whatsoever.

But what is that justice which God hath put into the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depositaries? Why, it is nothing else but order; and order consists in observing an universal equity, and that force do not usurp the place of law; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another; that the common band of society be not broken; that artisce and fraud may not prevail over inno-

<sup>(</sup>g) Ibid, iv. 15. and Efth, vi. 14

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cence and fimplicity; that all things may rest in peace under the protection of the laws; and the weakest among the peo-

ple may find his fanctuary in the public authority.

(b) We learn from Josephus, that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. And 'twas to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public schools, as we have already mention'd in the history of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary, that the prince be affifted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others: but to be affished, is not to be depriv'd, or disposses'd. He continues judge as long as he continues king. Tho' he communicates his authority, yet does he not refign or divide it. 'Tis therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of speaking wisely upon important points. For this reason, the kings of Persia never ascended the throne. till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science, whereof they were the only mafters and professors, as well as of theology.

Now fince to the fovereign alone, is committed the right of administring justice; and that within his dominions there is no other power of administring it, than what is delegated by him; how greatly does it behove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of so great a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne, are worthy to partake of such a prerogative; and industriously to keep all such

(b) Antq. Judaic. 1. 11. c. 3.

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(1) (n fuch at a distance from it, as he judges unworthy? We find that in Persia, their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. (i) One of their royal judges (for so they call'd them) having suffer'd himself to be corrupted by bribery, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he had used to sit and give judgment, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place, whence he gave judgment, should remind him of his own duty.

(k) Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men, into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years; so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which disposed of the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-

citizens.

(1) Amongst them, it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death, or for the prince to instict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice: nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. (m) Upon this principle it was, that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important services he had rendered both the state and the royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, (n) and acknowledg'd, that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

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<sup>(</sup>i) Herod. l. 5. c. 25. (k) Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 1. p. 7. (l) Herod. l. 1. c. 137. (m) Herod. l. 7. c. 194. (n) Ivais de taxitepa autos à sopoitepa eppasuivos en extres.

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But one important and effential rule which they observed in their judgments, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without bringing his accuser to his face, and without giving him time, and all other means necessary, for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge: and in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very fame punishment upon the accuser, as the other was to have fuffer'd, had he been found guilty. (0) Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions. One of the king's favourites. ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer; and to that end, fent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great credit he had with his majesty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without farther examination. For fuch is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light: they make it their business to shut out the innocent from all access to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves, The officer was imprisoned; but he defired of the king, before he was condemn'd, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king did fo: and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had writ against him, he was clear'd, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that fat upon his trial; all the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master. This prince, who was very wife, and knew that one of the true figns of a prudent government, was to have the subjects stand more in fear of the \* laws, than of informers, would have thought that to have acted otherwise than he did, would have been a direct

<sup>(0)</sup> Diodor. 1. 15. p. 333-336.

<sup>\*</sup> Non jam delatores, sed leges timentur. Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

direct violation of the most common rules of \* natural equity and humanity; it would have been opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge; it would have been exposing the honest simplicity of good and faithful subjects to the cruel malice of detestable informers, and arming these with the sword of publick authority: in a word, it would have been divesting the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, of being a fanctuary for innocence and injustice,

against violence and calumny.

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(p) There is upon record a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice, in another king of Persia, before Artaxerxes; in him, I mean, whom the fcripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius, the ion of Hystaspes, from whom Haman had, by his earnest follicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him; but, which is more, by a public acknowledgment of his error, which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure them both the more respect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impose, by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of their princes, whom their natural fincerity induces to judge favourably of others; he is not ashamed to acknowledge, that he had been so unhappy as to fuffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who were his faithful subjects, and the children of the most high God, through whose goodness he and his ancestors had attained to the throne.

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<sup>(</sup>p) Efth. c. iii, &c.

<sup>\*</sup> Princeps, qui delatores non cassigat, irritat. Sueton. in wit, Domit, c, 9.

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(q) The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shewn; but also abhorred lying, which always was deem'd amongst them as a mean and infamous vice. What they esteemed most pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, because it makes people liars.

## SECT. IV. Their care of the provinces,

It feems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is nearly inspected; and the very fight of the throne is capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanours on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disorder on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care; and, we may also say, with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into \* an hundred and twenty-seven governments, the governors whereof were called satrapæ. Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus, in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These satrapæ were, by by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together;

(9) Herod. 1. 1. c. 138.

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<sup>\*</sup> Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces. Xenoph. Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 229, 232.

fince neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince

truly powerful, unless his people be happy.

These satrapæ being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, Cyrus affign'd them certain funds and revenues proportionable to their station and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within their jurisdiction; and for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himself was their model in this respect, as he defired they should be to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: fo that the fame order, which reigned in the prince's court, might likewife proportionably be observed in the courts of the fatrapæ, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as possible, all abuses, which might be made of fo extensive an authority as that of the fatrapæ, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and caused the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other fuch like officers, to depend immediately upon the prince himself; from whom alone they were to receive their orders and instructions, that, if the satrapæ were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible those officers were fo many overfeers and cenfors of their conduct. And to make this correspondence, by letters, the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travelled night and day, and made wonderful dispatch. But I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of this fection, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

Notwithstanding all this, the care of the provinces was not entirely left to the satrapæ and governors: the king himself took cognizance of them in his own person, being persuaded, that the governing only by others, is but to govern by halves. An officer of the houshold was ordered to repeat these words

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to the king every morning, when he waked: (r) Rife, Sir. and think of discharging the duties, for which Oromasdes has placed you upon the throne. Oromasdes was the principal God, antiently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, fays Plutarch in the account he gives of this custom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition : his own heart, and the love he has for his people, are sufficient monitors.

(s) The king of Perfia thought himself obliged, according to the antient custom establish'd in that country, from time to time personally to visit all the provinces of his empire; being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people fee their common father; to \* reconcile the diffentions and mutual animofities of rival cities; to calm commotions or feditions among the people, and that not fo much by the dint of power and feverity, as by reason and temper; to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates; and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity: in a word, like a beneficent planet, to fhed his falutary influences univerfally, or rather like a kind of divinity to be present every-where, to fee, to hear, and know every thing, without rejecting any man's petition or complaint.

When the king was not able to vifit the provinces himself, he fent, in his stead, some of the greatest men of the kingdom, fuch as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of

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(r) Plut. ad. Princ. indoct. p. 780. (s) Xenoph, in Oeconom. p. 228.

\* Reconciliare æmulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis quam ratione compescere, intercedere iniquitatibus magistratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit; postremò velociffimi fideris more omnia invifere, omnia audire, & undecumque invocatum, statim, velut numen, adesse & adfistere. Plin, in Panes gyr, Traj.

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every thing. When these, or any other of his great miniflers, or the members of his council were faid to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our fenses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the

advantage of the whole body politick.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king, or the commissioners appointed by him, enter'd into, is highly worthy of admiration, and shews how well they understood in those days, wherein the wisdom and ability of governors confift. The attention of the king and his ministers was not only employed upon great objects, as war, the revenue, juflice and commerce; but matters of less importance, as the fecurity and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the reparations of high roads, bridges, cause-ways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting of all forts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; every thing in fhort came within the fphere of their policy, and was thought to deferve their care and inspection. And indeed, whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the common-weal is universal, \* It extends itself to all matters, and takes in every thing: It is the support of private persons, as well as of the public. Every province, every city, every family has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

<sup>\*</sup> Is, cui curæ funt universa, nullam non reip, partem tanquam fui putrit. Senec. lib. de Clem. c. 13.

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(t) I have already fasd, that agriculture was one of the main things, on which the Perfians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed one of the prince's first cares was, to make husbandry flourish; and those satrapæ, whose provinces were the best cultivated, had the most of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government; fo were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and economy. For these two employments had a near relation; the bufiness of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both almost with the same degree of affection; because both concurred, and were equally necesfary for the public good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and fecurity; fo neither can the foldiers on the other hand be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen, who cultivate the ground. 'Twas with good reason therefore, that the prince, fince it was impossible for himfelf to fee into every thing, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and canton was cultivated: that he might know, whether each country brought forth abundantly fuch fruits, as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, as to inform himself, whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the super-intendants and overfeers, whose provinces or cantons were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons, who did not labour and improve their grounds. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry amongst his fubjects, which is the furest means of preventing that increase of drones and idle fellows, that are such a burden upon the publick, and a dishonour to the state.

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<sup>(</sup>t) Xenoph, Occon. p. 827-830.

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(u) Xenophon, in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker therein, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as the employment in the world the most worthy of men's application, the most antient, and the most fuitable to their nature; as the common nurse of persons of all ages and conditions of life; as the fource of health, firength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion; and in a word, of all kinds of virtues both civil and military. After which he relates the fine faying of Lyfander, the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth, that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, made the following answer: that the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune; and who, in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendor, and magnificence, had yet preserved a taste so pure and so conformable to right reason. (x) Cum Cyrus respondisset, Ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum med manu sunt fatæ: tum Lysandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, & nitorem corporis, ornatumque Perficum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: \* RECTE VERO TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUE FOR-TUNA CONJUNCTA EST. How much is it to be wished, that our young nobility, who, in the time of peace, do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which furely, after fuch an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality; especially if they would confider, that for several ages

happiness thou art possessed of: because with all thy affluence and prosperity thou art also virtuous.

<sup>(</sup>u) Xenoph. Oecon. p. 830-833. (x) Cic. de senect. num. 59.

<sup>\*</sup> In the original Greek art worthy, Cyrus, of that there is still a greater energy. Aixaims mot foxers, & Kupe, sudainar eiras agados pap Thou wy armp sydarmovers.

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ages it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike people in the world! The reader may easily perceive, that I mean the antient Romans.

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The invention of posts and couriers.

(y) I promised to give some account in this place of the invention of posts and couriers. This invention is ascribed to Cyrus: nor indeed can I find any mention of fuch an effablishment before his time. As the Persian empire, after its last conquests, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required, that all his governors of provinces, and his chief commanders of his troops, should write to him, and give an exact account of every thing that passed in their several districts and armies, in order to render that correspondence the more fare and expeditious, and to put himfelf into a condition of receiving speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and of fending his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed in every province. Having computed how far a good horse, with a brisk rider, could go in a day, without being spoiled, he had stables built in proportion at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of At each of thefe places he likewife appointed a post-master, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that had performed their stage, and to find fresh ones. Thus the post went continually night and day, with extraordinary speed: nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the feafon, interrupt its progress. (2) Herodotus speaks of the same fort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.

These couriers were called in the Persian language,
Aylapor\*. The superintendency of the posts became a considerable

(y) Xen. Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 232. (z) Her. 1. 8. c. 98.

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Ay Sapor is derived from their verb ay Sapeler, coma word which in that language signifies a service rendered by compulsion. 'Tis from Suidas they are likewise called thence the Greeks borrowed aftendæ,

fiderable employment. (a) Darius, the last king of the antient Persians, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon takes notice, that this establishment subsisted in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the book of Esther, concerning the edict published by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews: which edict was carried through that vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts erected by Cyrus.

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The world is justly furprized to find, that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the east by Cyrus, and continued for so many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering the usefulness of it to a government, should never be imitated in the west, particularly by people so expert in politicks, as the Greeks and the Romans.

'Tis more aftonishing, that, where this invention was put in execution, it was not farther improved, and that the use of it was confined only to affairs of state, without considering the many advantages the publick might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the bufiness of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds; by the expedition it would have procured to the affairs of private persons; the dispatch of journeys, which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities and provinces; and by the fafety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. 'Tis well known what' difficulty people at a diffance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of affairs together; being obliged either to fend a fervant on purpofe, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time; or to wait for the departure of fome other person, that was going into the province, or country, whither they had letters to fend; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents and delays.

Aa 3 At

<sup>(</sup>a) Plut. 1. 1. de fortun, Alex. p. 326. & in vit. Alex. p. 674. ubi pro Agydrons, legendum Asarons.

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At present we enjoy this general conveniency at a small expence; but we do not thoroughly consider the advantage of it; the want whereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing here: I hope the reader will excuse the digression. The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all parts of the kingdom, did, for their sakes and conveniency, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring cloaths, silver and gold for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law-proceedings, informations and inquests; to conduct all forts of persons indifferently to, or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet; as also to carry letters, parcels and packets for the public, as well as the university.

In the university-registers of the four nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers were often stiled Nuntii volantes, to signify the great speed and dispatch

they were obliged to make.

The state then is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these inessengers and letter-carriers. And it was at her own charge and expence that she erected these offices; to the satisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has moreover maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never were any ordinary royal messengers, till Henry III. sirst established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges, as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

The university never had any other fund, or support, than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue, that king Lewis XV. now on the throne, by his decree of the council of state, of the 14th of April 1719, and by his letters patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament and in the cham-

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ber of accompts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the faid univerfity the students shall be taught gratis, and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eight and twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France: which eight and twentieth part amounted that year to the sum of one hundred and eighty-four thousand livres, or thereabouts \*.

'Tis not therefore without reason, that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her antient lustre, reckons Lewis XV. as a kind of new sounder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble, disinterested spirit, which becomes it. And indeed, the labour of masters and professors, who instruct others, ought not to be given for nothing: but neither ought it to be sold. (b) Nec venire boc beneficium oportes, nec perire.

### SECT. V. Administration of the revenues.

The prince is the fword and buckler of the state; by him is the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But to enable him for these ends, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortissed towns, and ships: and all these things require great expences. 'Tis moreover just and reasonable, that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of empire; as also to procure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons, that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and imposition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the necessity of descraying the expences of the state, have been the first causes of these burdens; so ought they likewise to be the constant standard of their use. Nor is there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than

<sup>(</sup>b) Quintil. 1, 12. c. 7.

<sup>\*</sup> About 8500 l. Sterlings

than such impositions; since every private person ought to think himself very happy, that he can purchase his peace and security at the expence of so slender a contribution.

(c) The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in monies imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with several of the products of the earth in kind; as corn, and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. (d) Strabo relates, that the fatrapa of Armenia fent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, twenty thousand young colts. By this we may form a judgment of the other levies in the feveral provinces. But we are to confider, that the tributes were only exacted from the conquered nations; for the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and of determining the fums each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius: at which time, the pecuniary impositions, as near as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to near forty-four millions French money \*.

(e) The place wherein was kept the publick treasure, was called in the Persian language Gaza. There were treasures of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Pasargada, at Damascus, and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money chiefly used by the Persians, was of gold; and called Daricus from the name of † Darius, who sirst caused them to be coined, with his image on one side, and an archer on the reverse. The Daric is sometimes also called Stater aureus, because the weight of it, like that of the Attic Stater, was two drachms of gold, which were equi-

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<sup>(</sup>c) Herod. 1 3. c. 89-97. (d) Lib. 11. p. 530. (e) Q. Curt. 1. 3. c. 12.

<sup>\*</sup> About two millions ster- wise called Cyaxares, is suppoling. fed to bave been the first who † Darius the Mede, other- caused this money to be coined.

valent to twenty drachms of filver, and confequently were worth ten livres of French money.

(f) Befides these tributes, which were paid in money, there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing victuals and provisions for the king's table and houshold, grain, forage, and other necessaries for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for the remounting of his cavalry. This contribution was imposed upon the fix-score satrapies, or provinces, each of them surnishing such a part as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, did alone furnish the whole contribution for the space of sour months, and consequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole imposition, whilst all the rest of Asia together did but contribute the other two thirds.

By what has been already said on this subject, we see the kings of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy a part of them in money, and to take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded: which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt they had observed, how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money without suffering great losses; whereas nothing can tend so much to the rendering of taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation and trouble, as well as expence, as the taking in payment from each country such fruits and commodities as that country produceth; by which means the contribution becomes casy, natural, and equitable.

(g) There were likewise certain cantons assigned and set apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments; and these cantons, which were of a great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as

(g) Plat. in Alcib. p. 123.

<sup>(</sup>f) Her. 1. 3. c. 91-97. & l. 1. c. 192.

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a man could walk over in a day; these cantons, I say, took their names from the particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called, one the queen's girdle, another the queen's veil, and fo on. In Plato's time, the same custom continued among the Perfians.

(b) The way of the king's giving penfions in those days to fuch persons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have observed concerning the queen. We read, that the king of Persia assigned the revenue of four cities to Themistocles; one of which was to supply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his cloaths and furniture. (i) Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the same manner with Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular consideration, and to whom he gave the revenue of feven cities, In following times, we find many instances of a like nature.

#### ARTICLE II.

Of their war.

THE people of Asia in general were naturally of a warlike disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they all grew effeminate through luxury and pleasure. When I fay all, I must be understood to except the Persians, who even before Cyrus, as well as in his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The fituation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one means of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a thing of no little importance for the forming of good foldiers. But the good education which the Perfians gave their youth, was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

With respect therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in

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<sup>(</sup>b) Plut. in Themist. p. 127. (i) Athen. l. 1. p. 30.

the following account of military affairs, what perfection and excellence you find in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Perfians, as they were in Cyrus's reign: the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise after they had degenerated from their antient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be shewn in the sequel.

# I. Their entrance into the service, or into military disci-

(k) The Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises. Generally speaking, they served in the armies, from the age of twenty to sifty years. And whether they were in peace or war, they always wore swords, as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to list themselves at the time appointed; and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be dispensed with in that respect, as will be seen hereaster, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes (1) to two young noblemen, whose fathers had desired, as a favour, that their sons might be permitted to stay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.

(m) Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, which were called immortal, because this body, which consisted of ten thousand, perpetually subsisted, and was always complete: for as soon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place. The establishment of this body probably began with the ten thousand men sent for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their singular courage.

(n) Quintus Curtius mentions also this body of men, and another body besides, consisting of sisteen thousand, designed

<sup>(</sup>k) Strab. 1. 15. p. 734. Am. Mar. 1. 23. sub. finem. (1) Herod. 1. 4. & 6. Sen. de ira, 1. 3. c. 16. & 17.

<sup>(</sup>m) L. 7. c. 83. (n) L. 3. c. 3.

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in like manner to be a guard to the king's person: the latter were called Doryphori, or the Lancers.

II. Their armour.

The ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scymitar, acinaces, as 'tis called in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; a javelin, or half-pike, having a sharp-pointed iron at the end.

It feems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to fling, and the other to fight with. They made great use of the bow, and of the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown amongst them; but they

did not fet much value upon it.

It appears from several passages in antient authors, that the Persians were no helmets, but only their common caps, which they called tiara's: this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger, (o) and of his army. And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we must conclude, that their custom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the most part wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially sitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or other pieces of armour, which covered the arms, thighs and legs of the horse-men. Their horses themselves for the most part had their faces, breasts, and slanks covered with brass. These were what are called equi catapbrati, barbed horses.

Authors differ very much about the form and fashion of their shields. At first they made use of very small and light ones; made only of twigs of ofier, gerra. But it appears from several passages, that they had also shields of brass,

which were of a great length.

We have already observed, that in the first ages the lightarmed soldiers, that is, the archers, slingers, &c. composed the bulk of the armies amongst the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience, that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or sighting at a distance, and who thought

<sup>(</sup>e) De exped, Cyr. 1. 1. p. 263.

thought it most advantagious to come directly to close fight; he, I say, for these reasons, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

HI. Chariots armed with scythes.

(p) Cyrus introduced a confiderable change likewife with respect to the chariots of war. These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the facred writings. Thefe chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses a-breast, with two men in each; one of diffinguished birth and valour, who fought, and the other only for driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little fervice; fince for the equipping of three hundred chariots. were required twelve hundred horses and fix hundred menof which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, tho' all men of merit and diffinction, and capable of doing great fervice, if otherwise employed, ferving only as charioteers, or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting-men that rode in them, by putting the drivers into a condition to fight, as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger, that they should not be so easily broken; and their axletrees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axle-tree he caused scythes to be sastened that were three foot long, and placed horizontally, and caused other scythes to be fixed under the same axle-tree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men, or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots should overturn. (q) It appears from several passages in authors, that in after-times, besides all this, they added two long iron-spikes at the end of the pole,

<sup>(</sup>p) Xen. Cyr. 1, 6, p. 152. (q) Liv. 1, 37. n. 41.

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in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they arm'd the hinder part of the chariot with feveral rows of sharp knives to hinder any from mounting behind.

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These chariots were in use for many ages in all the eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain causes of the victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all others to strike the

enemy with confternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the people found the inconveniencies of them, and at length laid them aside. For to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in vast large plains, where the soil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gutters, woods, nor vine-

vards.

In after-times feveral methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless. (r) It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle which Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of flingers, archers and spearmen, who spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows and lances upon them, and at the same time fall a shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses of the chariots, and occasioned such a diforder and confusion among them, as often made them turn about and run foul upon their own forces. (s) At other times they would render the chariots ineffectual and unactive. only by marching over the space, which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary fwiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuofity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and infignificant. It was after this manner, that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, defeated and put to flight the enemy's thariots by raising loud peals of laughter, as if they had been hey

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at the games of the Circus, and by crying out, that they

IV. Their discipline in peace as well as war.

Nothing can be imagined more perfect, than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The methods used by that great prince, as is fully related in Xenophon's Cyropædia, in order to form his troops by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue by keeping them continually breathing and employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battles by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises and rewards: all this, I say, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally speaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious: for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies, infinitely sharpen and excite. \* A wise prescience of the suture ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever will be needful in time of war.

Whenever the Persian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness, as on a day of battle; not a foldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom amongst all Asiatics, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprized by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. (t) They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches; though sometimes they fortified them with good palifado's, and long stakes driven into the ground.

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(t) Diod. 1. 1. p. 24, 25.

\* \_\_\_\_ Metuensque futuri, In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.

Hor . Satyr , 2. 1. 2.

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By what has been faid of their discipline in time of peace. and of their manner of marching and encamping their armies. we may judge of their exactness on a day of battle. Nothing can be more wonderful than the accounts we have of it in feveral parts of the Cyropædia. No fingle family can be better regulated, or pay a more speedy and exact obedience to the first fignal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience, on which the fuccess of all enterprizes depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity. which is necessary in the beginning, in order to establish a good discipline: but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their # leader, who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his discourse, and softened the rigour of his com-The unalterable rule he laid down to himself, of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing every thing to favour, was a fure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. + For there is nothing more discouraging to persons of that profession, even to those who love their prince and their country, than to fee the rewards, to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle them, conferred upon others. Cypus had the art of inspiring his common soldiers even with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and above all, by endearing himself to them, by his bounty and liberality. These are the true methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in its full force and vigour,

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<sup>\*</sup> Dux, cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adeffe: laudem Arenuis, folatium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere. Tacit. Annal. 1. 13. c. 35.

<sup>†</sup> Cecidisse in irritum labores, si præmia periculorum soli assequantur, qui periculis non assuerunt. Tacit, Hist. lib. 3. cap. 53.

V. Their order of battle.

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time. all their wars were little else but field expeditions: for which reason that wife prince found out by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to victory, than a numerous and good cavalry; and that the gaining of one fingle pitched battle was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we fee, that having found the Perfian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary fuccour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying that defect; and fo far succeeded by his great application and activity, as to form a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness at least, if not in number. (u) There were feveral breeds of horses in Persia and Media: but in the latter province, those of a place, call'd Nisea, were the most esteemed; and 'twas from thence the king's stable was furnished. We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbræa may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to shew how far their ability extended either in the use of arms, or the disposition of armies.

They knew, that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the center, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the slanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act and extend them-selves, as occasion should require.

They likewife understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise, one single line might easily be pierced through and broken; so would not be able to rally, and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason, they formed the first line of foot heavily armed, \* twelve mendeep, who, on the first onset, made use of the half-pike;

<sup>(</sup>u) Herod. 1. 7. c. 40. Strab. 1. 11. p. 530.

<sup>\*</sup> Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty-four men.

rch tions and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy body to body with their swords, or scymitars. 18

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to sling their javelins over the heads of the sirst. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were slung with great violence. The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before

they came to close fight.

The third line confifted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes mixed with slingers, who slung great stones with a terrible force: but, in after-time, the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear-guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if

they should happen to penetrate fo far.

They had befides moving towers, carried upon huge waggons, drawn by fixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose bufiness was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army behind the body of reserve, and served to support their troops, when they were driven by the enemy; and to savour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use too of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them at certain times upon the slanks of the army; or, when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

Thus far, and not much farther, did the ancients carry their knowledge in the military art with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any skill in chusing advantageous posts, in seasonably postessing themselves

solves of a favourable country, of bringing the war into a close one; of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the enemy in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; of laying artful ambuscades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see, that they had much regard to the desending of their right and left with rivers, marshes, or mountains; and by that means to make the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous; and to put it out of the enemy's power to surround or slank them.

Yet in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, there seems to have been some beginnings and a kind of essays of this art; but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reslection and experience made the great commanders in after-ages acquainted with these precautions and subtleties of war; and we have already shewn, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio,

and other generals of both nations made of them.

VI. Their manner of attacking and defending strong places.

The ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as also from the force and the variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

1. Their way of attacking places.

The first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and places of arms: and between the wall and the town they dug a deep trench, which they strongly senced with pallisado's, to hinder the besieged from going out, as well as to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till samine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related by the antients;

anticats; as that of \* Troy, which lasted ten years; that of Azoth by Psammeticus, which lasted twenty; that of Nineveh, where we find Sardanapalus defended himself for the space of seven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had laid in a stock of provisions for twenty years, if he had not used a different method for taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by raising a great number of ladders against the walls, by means whereof a great many files of soldiers might climb up

together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made the walls of their city extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of ramparts: and this was building moving towers of wood, still higher than the walls, and by approaching them with those wooden towers. On the top of these towers, which formed a kind of platform, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who, with darts and arrows, and the assistance of their balistæ and catapultæ, scoured the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders: and then from a lower stage of the tower, they let down a kind of draw-bridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast thick beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it: which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. There were several kinds of them; but I shall give a more ample and particular account of these, as well as

of other warlike engines, in another place.

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<sup>\*</sup> Homer makes no mention of the ram, or any warlike engine.

They had still a sourth method of attacking places, which was, that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways: that is, either to carry on a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and so open themselves a passage and entrance into it; or else, after they had sapped the soundation of the wall, and put supporters under it, to fill the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then to set that matter on sire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

2. Their manner of defending places.

With respect to the fortifying and defending of towns. the antients made use of all the fundamental principles and effential rules, now practifed in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made their ditches deep, and of a fleep ascent, and fenced them round with pallifado's, to make the enemy's afcent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone, or brick-work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derived their origin, for the flanking of the curtains, the ingenious invention of different machines for the shooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great stones with wast force and violence; their parapets and battlements in the walls for the foldiers fecurity, and their covered galleries, which went quite round the walls, and ferved as subterraneous passages; their intrenchments behind the breaches, and necks of the towers; they made their fallies too, in order to deftroy the works of the befiegers, and to fet their engines on fire; as also their countermines to defeat the mines of the enemy; and laftly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in case of extremity, to serve as the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods

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of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification, as it was practised among the antients; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the antient manner of defending fortified towns; as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that, because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gun-powder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram; and musket-shot in the room of balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the sundamental rules of fortification are changed? By no means. The antients made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. The condition of the Persian forces after Cyrus's time.

I have already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all times, by what we fee of them in Cyrus's reign. I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Bossuet; bishop of Meaux, on that subject. observes, that, after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages that refult from feverity, order, or discipline; from the drawing up of an army; their order in marching and encamping; and that happiness of conduct which moves those great bodies without diforder or confusion. Full of a vain oftentation of their power and greatness; and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necesfary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution enough, but without order, and who found themselves incumbered with the vaft

vast multitudes of useless persons, in the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to fuch an height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence. and enjoy the same pleasures and delights in the army, as in the king's court: fo that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their filver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities: and, in short, all the equipage and utenfils so voluptuous a life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, had the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert: their orders never reached them in time; and in action every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's preventing diforder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of paffing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things also as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed all that could be met with in a very short time; nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subfistence.

But with all this vast train, the Persians astonished those nations that were as unexpert in military affairs as themselves; and many of those that were better versed therein, were yet overcome by them, being either weakened or diffressed by their own divisions, or overpowered by their enemy's numbers. And by this means Egypt, as proud as she was of her antiquity, her wife inflitutions, and the conquests of her Sefostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the leffer Afia, and fuch Greek colonies as the luxury of Asia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, foldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active, by wrestling and other exercises practife

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practifed in that country. The Grecian armies indeed were but fmall; but they were like your strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and sull of spirits in every part: at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul; so persect an harmony was there in all their motions.

#### ARTICLE III.

#### Arts and Sciences.

Do not pretend to give an account of the eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Testament. Those precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poesy; its true design; the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections, and sing the wonderful works of God, as also the dignity and sublimity of stile which ought to accompany it, and be adapted to the majesty of the subjects it treats. The discourses of Job's friends, who lived in the east, as he himself did, and who were distinguished among the Gentiles, as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of the eastern eloquence in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priefts faid of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to (x) Plato, that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respects to arts and sciences, of which they have falsely ascribed the invention to chimerical persons, much posterior to the deluge. (y) The holy scripture informs us, that before that epocha, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of seeding their slocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents: of spinning wool and shax, and weaving it into stuffs and linnen; of forging and polishing iron and brass, and putting them to numberless uses that are necessary and convenient for life and society.

We learn from the fame scriptures, that very soon after the

<sup>(</sup>x) In Timæo, p. 22.

deluge, human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of fpinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it to gild wood and other materials. 3. The fecret of casting metals; as brass. filver, or gold; and of making all forts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of representing any kind of different objects; and of making an infinite variety of veffels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, stone, or marble: and, 5. To name no more, that of dying their filks and stuffs, and giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Afia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the nurse, as it were, of arts and fciences, of which the remembrance had been preserved by tradition; and which were afterwards revived again, and reftored by means of men's wants and necessities, which put them upon all the methods of industry and application.

#### SECT. I. Architecture.

THE building of the tower of Babel, and shor y after. of those famous cities of Babylon and Niniveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of royal and other palaces, divided into fundry halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or conveniency could require; the regularity and fymmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, raifed and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers; their large commodious keys on the banks of their great rivers; and their curious bold bridges built over them: all these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature, shew to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in those antient times.

Yet I cannot fay, whether in those ages this art rose to that degree of perfection, which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy; or those vast structures in Asia and Egypt,

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fo much boasted of by the antients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and spaciousness. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite: but we never hear of an Asiatic or Egyptian order; which gives us reason to doubt whether the symmetry, measures, and proportions of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those antient structures.

#### SECT. II. Musick.

TT is no wonder, if, in a country like Asia, addicted to voluptuous and luxurious living, mufick, which is in a manner the foul of fuch enjoyments, was in high efteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal notes of antient music, which the modern has still preserved, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian. and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin; or at least, where it was improved and brought to persection. (2) We learn from holy scripture. that in Laban's time inftrumental musick was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; fince, among the other reproaches he makes to his fon-in-law Iacob, he complains, that by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family with mirth and with fongs, with tabret and with barp. (a) Amongst the booty that Cyrus ordered to be fet apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two famous \* female muficians, ery skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Sufa, and were taken prisoners with her.

To determine what degree of perfection musick was carried to by the antients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, because, to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several pieces of musick composed by the antients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our

ears.

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<sup>(</sup>z) Gen. xxxi. 27. (a) Cyrop. 1. 4. p. 13.

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ears. But, unhappily, it is not with musick in this respect, as with antient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whilst, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgment of it, and determine whether the music of the antients was as perfect as ours.

'Tis generally allowed, that the antients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

'Tis also agreed, that they excelled in what relates to the rythmus. What is meant by rythmus, is the affemblage, or union of various times in music, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To underfland this definition, it is to be observed, that the music we are speaking of, was always set and fung to the words of certain verses, in which every syllable was distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckoned to make up but one time, whilft the latter made up two; and confequently the found which answered to this, was to continue twice as long, as the found which answered to the other; or, which is the same thing, it was to consist of two times, or measures, whilst the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung, consisted of a certain number of feet formed by the different combination of these long and short syllables; and that the rythmus of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of what nature or extent foever, were always divided into two equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called apois, elevation or raising; and the latter Déois, depression or falling; so the rythmus of the song, which answered to every one of those feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally by what we now call a beat, and a rest or intermission. The scrupulous regard the antients had to the quantity of their fyllables in their vocal music, made their rythmus much

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more perfect and regular than ours: for our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables; but nevertheless a skilful musician amongst us, may in some fort express, by the length of the sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the rythmus of the antients I have copied from one of the differtations of Monsieur Burette; which I have done out of regard for young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in antient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned, concerning the music of the antients, is to know whether they understood music in several parts; that is, a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a compleat piece, and at the same time have an harmonious connexion, as it is in our counter-point

or concert, whether fimple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the music of the antients, I refer him to the learned differtations of the above-mentioned Mr. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the Memoirs of the royal academy des Belles-lettres; which shew the profound erudition and exquisite taste of that writer.

# SECT. III. Phyfick.

E likewise discover in those early times the origin of physic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and impersect. (b) Herodotus, and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn of them whether they had been afflicted with the like distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence several people have pretended that physic is nothing else but a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the

<sup>(</sup>b) Her. 1. 1. c. 197. Strab. 1. 16. p. 746.

the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed, that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The samous Hippocrates made great use of it in his practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. (c) The custom was in those days for all persons that had been sick, and were cured, to put up a picture of Æsculapius, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to their health. That celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, which were of great advantage to him.

(d) Physic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem. Æsculapius, who flourished at that time, is reckoned the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to a great perfection by his prosound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations: for in those days these several branches were not separated from one another, but were all included

together under the denomination of physic.

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(e) The two fons of Æsculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a certain number of troops at the fiege of Troy, were both excellent physicians and brave officers: and rendered as much service to the Grecian army by their skill in their physical, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. (f) Nor did Achilles himself, or even Alexander the Great in after-times, think the knowledge of this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary, he learnt it himself of Chiron, the centaur. and afterwards instructed his governor and friend Patroclus in it, who did not disdain to exercise the art, in healing the wound of Eurypilus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately affwaged the pain. and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physick which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and Cc 3

<sup>(</sup>e) Plin. l. 29. c. 1. Strab. l. 8. p. 374. (d) Diod. l. 5. p. 341. (e) Hom. Iliad. l. 10. v. 821—847. (f) Plut. in Alex. p. 668.

and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times. (g) Virgil speaking of a celebrated physician, who was instructed in his art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples: Scire potestates berbarum usunque medendi maluit. 'Twas nature herself that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use of them. (b) Their gardens, fields and woods supplied them gratis with an infinite plenty and variety. (i) As yet no use was made of minerals, treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more

inquifitive refearches into nature.

(k) Pliny fays, that physic, brought by Æsculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its antient honour and credit. This may be true with respect to Greece: but in Persia we find it always cultivated, and constantly held in great reputation. (1) The great Cyrus, as is observed by Xenophon, never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard: he further remarks, that in this Cyrus only followed a custom, that had been anciently established among their generals; (m) and that the younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates, who carried this science to its highest perfection: and though it be certain, that several improvements and new discoveries have been made in that art since his time, yet is he still looked upon by the ablest physicians, as the first and chief master of the faculty, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those that would distinguish

themselves in that profession.

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<sup>(</sup>g) Æn. l. 12. v. 396. (i) Id. l. 24. c. 1, (k) L. 29. c. 9. (l) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 29. & l. 8. p. 212. (m) De exped. Cyr. l. 2. p. 311.

Men thus qualified, who, befide their having studied the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, beside the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of fimples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have had a long practice and experience, and to that have added their own ferious reflections; fuch men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and diftinguished, as the holy Spirit itself fignifies to us in the facred writings: (n) The skill of the physicians shall lift up his head: and in the fight of great men be shall be in admiration; fince all their labours, lucubrations and watchings are devoted to the people's health, which of all human bleffings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this bleffing is what mankind are the least careful to preferve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but through a blind credulity they foolishly entrust it with perfons of no skill or experience, \* who impose upon them by their impudence and prefumption, or feduce them by their flattering affurances of infallible recovery.

# SECT. IV. Astronomy.

As much as the Grecians defired to be effeemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The † advantageous situation of Babylon, which was built upon a wide, extended slat country, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps

# (n) Ecclus. xxxviii. 3.

\* Palam est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illico vitæ nostræ necisque sieri—Adeo blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo. Plin. l. 29. c. 1.

+ A Principio Affyrii prop-

ter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cùm cœlum ex omni parte patens & apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt. Cic. lib. 1. de Divin. n. 2. also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which feemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumflances were strong motives to engage this people to a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies. and the regular course of the stars. \* The abbot Renaudot. in his differtation upon the sphere, observes, that the plain, which in scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same as is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almamon, the feventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for feveral ages directed all the astronomers of Europe, and that the fultan Gelaleddin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caused a course of the like observations to be made near three hundred years afterwards in the same place: from whence it appears, that this place was always reckoned one of the properest in the world for astronomical observations.

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of the help of telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astronomical enquiries more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a great and credible author, according to Pliny (0), speaks of observations made for the space of seven hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon squares of brick; which, if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity. (p) Those of which Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's court, makes mention, and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknowledge, to the labours and curious inquiries of those who

(o) Plin. hift. nat. 1. 7. c. 56. (p) Porphyr. apud Simplic. in 1. 2. de cœlo.

<sup>\*</sup> Memoirs of the Academy des Belles Lettres, Vol. I. Part 2. p. 2.

who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science, not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant and uniform proportion of days, months, feafons and years; but even to religion itself; with which, as Plato shews, (q) the study of that science has a very close and necessary connection; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the deity, who with an infinite wisdom presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions. But at the same time we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those very philosophers, who, by their successful \* application and aftronomical inquiries, came very near the creator, and yet were fo unhappy as not to find him, because they did not ferve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

# SECT. V. Judicial aftrology.

A S to the Babylonian and other eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the knowledge of him who is both their creator and director, that for the most part it carried them into impious practices, and the extravagancies of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and pre-sumptuous science, which teaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the stars, and to foretel events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects: a science justly looked upon as a madness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. (r) O delirationem incredibilem! cries Cicero, in resulting the extravagant opinions of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans

<sup>(</sup>q) In Epinom. p. 989—992. (r) L. 2. de Div. n. 87, 99.

<sup>\*</sup> Magna industria, magna quia quærere neglexerunt. solertia: sed ibi Creatorem August. de verb. Evang. scrutati sunt positum non longè Matth. Serm. 68. c. 1.

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from the country that first produced them, who, in confequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events, for the space only of four hundred and seventy thousand years, pretended to know asfuredly by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets at the instant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the conftitution of his body, his actions; and in a word, all the events, with the duration of his life. He repeats a thousand absurdities of this opinion, the very ridicule of which sufficiently exposes it to contempt; and asks. why of all that vast number of children, that are born in the fame moment, and without doubt exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two of them, whose lives and fortunes resemble each other. He puts this further question, whether that great number of men, that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the fame confiellations.

(s) It is hardly credible, that so absurd an art, sounded entirely upon fraud and imposture, fraudulentissima artium, as Pliny calls it, should ever acquire so much credit, as this has done, throughout the whole world and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into so great vogue, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into suturity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them: nullo non avido futura de se sciendi; attended with a superstitious credulity, which finds itself agreeably flattered with the large and grateful promises, of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. Ita blandifsimis desideratissimisque promissis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maximè etiamnum caligat bumanum genus.

(t) Modern writers, and among others two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendus and Rohault, have inveighed against the folly of that pretended science with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principles and ex-

perience.

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<sup>(</sup>s) Plin. Prœem. 1. 30. (t) Gaffendi phys. sect. 2. 1. 6. Rohault's phys. part 2. ch. 27.

As for its principles. The heaven, according to the fyftem of the aftrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts: which parts are taken not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiac: these twelve parts, or proportions of heaven, have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, &c. the most important and decifive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to afcend and appear above the horizon, when a man comes into the world: the planets are divided into the propitious. the malignant, and the mixt: the aspects of these planets. which are only certain distances from one another, are likewife either happy or unhappy. I fay nothing of feveral other hypotheses, which are all equally arbitrary; and I ask, whether any man of common fense can give into them upon the bare word of these impostors, without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability. The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of child-bearing? Or is it possible; confidering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be fure of hitting the precise, determinate moment, without the least variation of more or less, which is sufficient to overthrow all? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter themselves on that side. Whatever they have of that, must consist in observations founded upon events, that have always
come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were
found in the same situation. Now, 'tis unanimously agreed
by all astronomers, that several thousands of years must pass,
before any such situation of the stars, as they would imagine,
can twice happen: and 'tis very certain, that the state, in
which the heavens will be to morrow, has never yet been
since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the
two philosophers above-mentioned, particularly Gassendus,
who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and

no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure

of judicial aftrology is built.

But, what is aftonishing, and argues an absolute want of all reason, is, that certain pretended wits, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convincing proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of these astrologers and impostors.

St. Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us, that this stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a just \* chassisement from God, who frequently punisheth the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness; and who suffers evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still faster in their nets, sometimes to foretel them things which do really come to pass, and of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them, † does often in scripture revile the ignorance of the

Babylonian

\* His omnibus confideratis, non immeritò creditur, cum aftrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas & noxias opiniones de astralibus fatis inserere humanis mentibus atque sirmare, non horoscopi notati & inspecti aliqua arte, quæ nulla est. De Civ. Dei, 1. 5. c. 7.

† Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which theu

shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy forceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou may'st prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Bebold, they shall be as stubble: the fire shall burn them: they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame. Ifai, xlvii, 11-14.

Babylonian aftrologers, fo much boafted of, calling them forgers of lies and falshoods: he moreover defies all their false gods to foretel any thing whatfoever, and confents, if they do, that they should be worshipped as gods. Then, addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries, with which she shall be overwhelmed above two hundred years after that prediction: and that none of her prognofficators, who had flattered her with the affurances of a perpetual grandeur they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment. Indeed how should they? since at the very time of its execution. when (u) Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, Chaldeans, and in a word, all the pretended fages of the country were not able fo much as to read the writing. Here then we see astrology and magick convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were most in vogue, and on an occasion when it was certainly their interest to display their science and whole power.

#### ARTICLE IV.

### Religion.

THE most authentick and general idolatry in the world, is that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitude; which, instead of ascending up to the deity, stopped short at the veil, which both covered and discovered him. With the least reslection or penetration they might have discerned the sovereign who commanded, from the \* minister who did but obey.

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In all ages mankind have been fenfibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man: and adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's defires, Vol. II. D d and

### (u) Dan. c. v.

<sup>\*</sup> Among the Hebrews the ordinary name for the fun fignifies

ons

and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the fun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their + hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them up to those false gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the east, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved: I If I beheld the fun when it spined, or the moon walking in brightness; and my heart bath been secretly enticed, or my mouth bath kissed my band.

(x) The Persians adored the fun, and particularly the rising fun, with the profoundest veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have feen in Cyrus's stately cavalcade. (This fame ceremony was practifed by the Babylonians; of whom fome impious kings of Judah borrowed it, and brought it into Palestine.) (y) Sometimes they likewise facrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known amongst them by the

name of Mithra.

(z) By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the fun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire, always invoked it first in their facrifices, (a) carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches; entrusted the keeping of their facred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if it had been suffered to go out. (b) History informs us, that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Perfians. demolished

(y) 4 Kings xxiii. 11. (x) Her. l. 1. c. 131. Strab. 1. 15. p. 732. (z) Ibid. (a) Xenoph. Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 215. Am. Mar. 1. 23. (b) Zonar. Annal. Vol. II.

num ori admovens, osculum manum admovere. labiis pressit. Minuc. p. 2. From thence is come the word Job xxxi, 26, 27,

+ Superstitiosus vulgus ma- adorare; that is to say, ad Qs

I The text is a kind of oath.

demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the facred fire had been preserved till that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country. (c) The Persians likewise honoured the water, the earth, and the winds, as so many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element: for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were fent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that they caused their children to pass through the fire. 'Tis well known how common this barbarous custom became in many provinces of Asia.

(d) Besides these, the Persians had two gods of a more extraordinary nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanius. The former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I

shall give a large account of these deities hereafter.

(e) The Persians erected neither statues, nor temples, nor altars to their gods; but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places.

(f) It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of. \* It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of God to shut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as an house or a temple.

D d 2 Cicero

(c) Her. l. 1. c. 131. (d) Plut. in. lib. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 369. (e) Herod. l. 1. c. 131. (f) Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 233.

\* Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur quòd parietibus includerent deos, quibus omnia

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deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset & domus. Cic. l. 2. de Legib. † Cicero thinks, that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wifely than the Persians, in that they erected temples within their cities, and thereby supposed their gods to reside among them, which was a proper way to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the same opinion: (g) (St. Austin has preserved that passage of his works.) After having observed, that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues or images for above an hundred and seventy years, he adds, that, if they had still preserved that ancient custom, their religion would have been purer and freer from corruption: Quod for adduct mansiffet, castius die observarentur: and to construct his sentiment, he cites the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestick interest. This was a fine way of attaching all particular persons to the publick good, by teaching them, that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves alone, but for the king and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the

rest of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to their worship; and 'twas to them the people had recourse, in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what days, to what gods, and after what manner they were to offer their facrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and that none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any stranger in those matters, without the king's permission. It was granted in favour of Themsstocles, (b) and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great consideration for that distinguished person.

(g) L. 4. de Civ. dei. 1. 31. † Meliùs Græci atque noftri, qui, ut angerent pietatem in deos, easdem illos urbes, quas nos, incolere vo(b) In Them. p. 126. luerunt. Adfert enim hace opinio religionem utilem civitatibus. *Ibid*.

This

This knowledge and skill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, Sear Sepantiar, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and people, who could offer no facrifice without their presence and ministration.

\* And before a prince in Persia could come to the crown, he was obliged to receive instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and to learn of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the state when he was upon the throne, without taking their advice and opinion before-hand: for which reason † Pliny says, that even in his time they were looked upon in all the eastern countries as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who stiled themselves the kings of kings.

They were the fages, the philosophers, and men of learning in Persia; as the Gymnosophists and Brachmans were amongst the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation made people come from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion; and we are assured it was from them Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that learning, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only his doctrine of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the antient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

'Tis generally agreed, that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect: but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. (b) What D d 3

# (b) Hift. Nat. 1. 30. c. 1.

\* Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse, qui non ante magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit. Cic. de Divin. l. 1. n. 91.

+ In tantum fastigii adole-

vit (auctoritas magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magnâ parte gentium prævaleat, & in oriente regum regibus imperet. Plin. 1, 30, c. 1. ch

Pliny fays upon this head, may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciously observed by Dr. Prideaux. We read in that author, that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance perhaps of fix hundred years. The first of them was the sounder of the Magian sect about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who certainly slourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the east, and the end of Darius's, son of Hystaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the eastern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal fects; that of the Sabeans, who adored images; and that of the Magians, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rife among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of aftronomy, and their particular application to the study of the several planets, which they believed to be inhabited by fo many intelligences, who were to those orbs what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by fo many images, or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligences, or deities, were as really present as in the planets themfelves. In time, the number of their gods confiderably increased: this image-worship from Chaldea spread itself throughout all the east; from thence passed into Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this fect of the Sabeans was diametrically opposite that of the Magians, which also took its rise in the same eastern countries. The Magians utterly abhorred images, and worshipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtilty, secundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol or representation of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, where they remain even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil. The former

is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good god they name Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god Abraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromasdes, and the latter Arimanius. (i) And therefore when Xerxes prayed, that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens, as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes, their good god.

Concerning these two gods they had this difference of opinion; that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity; others contended, that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world: that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thence-forward each of them shall have his world to himself; that is, the good god, his world with all his good; and the evil god, his world with all the wicked.

The fecond Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian fect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but, since the death of Smerdis and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adherents and followers, was fallen into great contempt. Tis thought this reformer made his first appearance in Echatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion, was in the first principle of it. For whereas before they had held as a fundamental principle the being of the two supreme first causes; the first light, which was the author of all good; and the other darkness, the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who, out of these two

two principles, made all other things according to his own

will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one fupreme being, independent and felf-existing from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil: that these two out of the mixture of light and darkness made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual fruggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general refurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works. After which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishments of their evil deeds: and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that fect, which is now in Persia and India, do, without any variation after fo many ages, still hold even to this day.

'Tis needless to inform the reader, that almost all these articles, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy scriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have had an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God; the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might confer with Daniel himself, who was in very great power and credit in

the Perfian court.

Another reformation, made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein wherein their facred fires were carefully and constantly preferved; and especially that which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priests kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's connexion of the Old and New Testament, &c. from whence I have taken this short extract.

Their marriages, and their manner of burying the dead.

Having faid so much of the religion of the eastern nations, which is an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greater brevity. Amongst which, their marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

(k) There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a greater idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain festival of the year, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel, or place of debauchery. (1) This wicked custom was still in being when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought sit to caution and admonish them against so abominable a scandal.

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and fanctity of the matrimonial institution, than the Babylonians.

(m) I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglio's, and of which they were as jealous, as if they had had but one wife, keeping them all shut up in separate apartments under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have any communication with one another, much less.

with

<sup>(</sup>k) Herod. l. 1. c. 199. (m) Herod. l. 1. c. 135,

<sup>(1)</sup> Baruch vi. 42. & 43.

with persons without doors. (n) It strikes one with horror to read how far they neglected the most common laws of nature. Even incest with a fister was allowed amongst them by their laws, or at least authorized by their Magi, those pretended fages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyses. Nor did even a father respect his own daughter. or a mother the fon of her own body. (0) We read in Plutarch, that Paryfatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent paffion for one of his own daughters, called Atoffa, was fo far from oppofing his unlawful defire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. For, fays fhe to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, Are not you your felf fet by God over the Perfians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious ?

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, being become master of Persia, by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abysis the gospel has delivered us; and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying the dead. (p) It was not the custom of the eastern nations, and especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to consume their bodies in the slames. (q) Accordingly we find that \* Cyrus, when he was

(n) Philo. lib. de Special. leg. p. 778. Diog. Laer. in Proæm. p. 6. (o) In Artax. p. 1023. (p) Herod. 1. 3. c. 16. (q) Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 238.

<sup>\*</sup> Ac mihi quidem anti- & ita locatum ac fitum quissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xe- ducitur. Cic. lib. 2. de nophontem Cyrus utitur. leg. n. 56.

Redditur enim terræ corpus,

at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of, by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent, from whence he fprung, and to which he ought to return. (r) And when Cambyfes had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all by caufing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Perfian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of the \* latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give the larger account in this place of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of + Barnab. Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, fave a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with matter of erudition, and costs him little, and yet often does him great honour.

# ARTICLE V.

The causes of the declension of the Persian empire, and of the change that happened in their manners.

HEN we compare the Perfians, as they were before Cyrus and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his fucceffors, we can hardly believe they were the fame people: and we fee a fenfible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners in any flate is always attended with that of empire and dominion,

Among

# (r) Her. 1. 3. c. 16.

\* Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, & eos domi fervant; Persæ jam cera circumlitos permaneant diuturna corpo-

ra. Cic. Tufcul. Quæft. lib. t. n. 108.

† Barnab. Briffonius de condiunt. ut quam maxime regio Perfarum principatu, Ge, Argentorati, an. 1710. Among many other causes, that brought about the declenfion of the Persian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal: their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths and engagements.

# SECT. I. Luxury and Magnificence.

THAT made the Persian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life, to which they were accustomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or something as hard, to lie upon, inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, and esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing. The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous and woody, might fomewhat contribute to their hardiness; for which reason Cyrus (s) would never confent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate. The excellent manner of educating the antient Persians, of which we have already given a sufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and fancies of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good; this excellent education prepared them for obferving, in all places and at all times, a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this the influence of the prince's example. who made it his ambition to furpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most inured and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from foldiers fo formed and fo trained up? By them therefore we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After

After all his victories he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their antient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preferve that fimplicity, fobriety, temperance and love of labour; which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know, whether Cyrus himself did not at that very time fow the first feeds of that luxury, which foon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first shewed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendor of his regal dignity, to make a pompods display of all the magnificence and shew, that could be contrived to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian cloaths, which were very plain and fimple.

This prince feemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and effeem what pleafes the eye and makes a fine shew, how glad they are to distinguish themselves above others by a false merit easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours: he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of antient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general, pre-

dominant tafte for extravagance and luxury.

(t) This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess, as was little better than downright madness. The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and what an equipage such a troop must be attended with is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to sight with the

(t) Xenoph. Cyrop. 1.4. p. 91-99.

the greater resolution; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were overcome and enslaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another instance of their folly was, that they carried their luxury and extravagance in the army, with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities. (u) The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the cossiliest dainties must needs be found for the prince, in what part of the world soever he was encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; \* instruments of luxury, says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not see what reasons Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last years of his life. It must be owned indeed, that the flation of kings requires a fuitable grandeur and magnificence, which may, on certain occasions be carried even to a degree of pomp and fplendor. But princes, poffeffed of a real and folid merit, have a thousand ways of making up what they may feem to lofe by retrenching fome part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king is more fure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct, than by the greatness of his expences; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person, than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for vanity and expence first, prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here faid of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Perfian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians,

(u) Senec, 1. 3. de ira, c. 20.

\* Non belli sed luxuriæ tem intueri jubebat Alexanapparatum—Aciem Persa- der, prædam, non arma gerum auro purpuraque sulgen- stantem. Q. Curt. all lay it down as a certain, indisputable maxim, that whereever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms: and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate this maxim.

What is this subtle, secret poison then, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleafure, and is capable of enervating at the same time both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? 'Tis not very difficult to comprehend, why it has this terrible effect. men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for fuffering the rigour of the feafons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without fleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniencies and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements, that endear it to them, and which by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things, wherein they place their felicity.

SECT. II. The abject submission and slavery of the Persians.

WE are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And indeed, what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies: and, as it was finely said by one of the antients, (x) from the day a man loseth bis liberty, he loseth one half of his antient virtue. He's no longer concerned for E e 2

<sup>(</sup>x) Hom. Odyff. v. 322.

the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having loft the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent about the success of public affairs, about the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered or improved. It may truly be faid, that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; nor did he think, that a despotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of flaves. His tent was always open: and free access allowed to every one. that defired to fpeak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit; invited to his table, not only his general officers and prime ministers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of foldiers. The \* fimplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently. His aim therein was to animate his officers and foldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may truly be called the art of governing and commanding.

In the reading of Xenophon with what pleasure do we obferve, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting
and rallery; but at the same time that amiable chearfulness
and gaiety which enlivened their entertainments, from which
all vanity and luxury were banished, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity, which was so
far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave
such a life and spirit to it, as nothing but a real affection and
tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such

<sup>\*</sup> Tantas vires habet frugalitas Principis, ut tot impendiis Plin. in paneg. Traj.

a conduct as this a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expense. Thirty thousand men of this fort are preferable to millions of such slaves, as the Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident; and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbræa, when Cyrus's horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice how much it concerns a commander to be loved by his foldiers. The danger of the king's person became the danger of the army; and his troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner, under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess, their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads with an imperial diadem round it, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and shining court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things must needs conduce to heighten the splendor of royalty: but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loses all his merit and his dignity, when he puts off his ornaments?

Some of the eastern kings, to procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom shewed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen, that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his accession to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the eastern countries. But 'tis a great mistake, that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a fort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so; and (y) Plutarch observes, that that prince, and queen Statira his wise, took a pleasure in being visible and of easy access to their people: and by so doing were but the more respected.

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Among the Persians no subject whatsoever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself before him: and this law, which (z) Seneca with good reason calls a Persian flavery, Persican servitutem, extended also to foreigners. We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men, born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctancy: and we are told, that one of them, in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration, (a) purposely let fall his ring, when he came near the king, that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hefitate or deliberate about an homage, which the kings exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

What the scripture relates of two sovereigns (b) on one hand, whereof the one commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to profirate themselves before his image; and the other on the same penalty suspended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himself only; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran all together on the first signal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king exclusively of all the powers of heaven: all this shews to what an extravagant excess the eastern kings carried their pride,

and the people their flattery and fervitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects, that the latter, of what rank or quality soever, whether satrapæ, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were only looked upon as slaves; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but as a kind of divinity.

(c) In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiaticks, and of the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude

(a) Ælian. l. 1. Var. Histor. cap. 21. (b) Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. c. iii, Darius the Me

<sup>(</sup>x) Lib. 3. de Benef. c. 12. & lib. 3. de ira, c. 17.

<sup>(</sup>b) Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. c. iii. Darius the Mede, Dan. c. vi. (c) Plut. in Apophth. p. 213.

and flavery; which made (c) Cicero fay, that the despotie power, some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman common-wealth, was an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes on one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to Plato, (d) were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties, wherewith a king is united to his subjects and the subjects to their king. Such an haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and fuch an abject state of flavery, leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Perfian kings governed and commanded only by threats and menaces, and the subjects, neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering, how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men, fo dispirited and depressed by slavery, as the Perfians were, and reduced to fuch an abject fervitude; which, to use the words of Longinus, (e) is a kind of imprifonment, wherein a man's foul may be faid in some fort to grow little and and contracted?

I am unwilling to fay it; but I don't know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among the Persians, both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians (till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful profitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances) first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance; for Xenophon intimates clearly enough, that Cyrus, (f) who defired to have that homage paid him, had appointed persons

<sup>(</sup>c) L. 10. Epist. ad Attic. (d) L. 3. de Leg. p. 697. (e) C. 35. (f) Cyrop. 1, 2, p. 215.

ch ions on purpose to begin it; whose example was accordingly sollowed by the multitude, and by the Persians as well as the other nations. In these little tricks and stratagems we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul, which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion: And I should be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks, wherewith prosperity is always assaulting even the best of princes, (g) secundæ res sapientium animos satigant; and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him and in a manner tore him from himself and his own natural inclinations:

(b) vi dominationis convulsus mutatus.

SECT. III. The wrong education of their princes, another cause of the declension of the Persian empire.

TIS Plato (i) still, the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcusable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible, how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience. (k) What he most earnestly recommended to his officers, in that fine discourse he made to them after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same manner, as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to persevere themselves in the practice of the same manners, as were practised there.

Would one believe, that a prince, who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himfelf wholly about his conquests, he left that care entirely to women,

(g) Sallust. (b) Tacit. Annal. 1. 6. c. 48. (i) Lib. 3. de Leg. p. 694, 695. (k) Cyrop. 1. 7. p. 200.

women, that is, to princesses, brought up in a country, where vanity, luxury and voluptuousness reigned in the highest degree: for the queen, his wife, was of Media. And in the fame tafte and manner were the two young princes, Cambyfes and Smerdis, educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them: nor were their defires only granted, but prevented. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they faid and did. Every one cringed and stooped and bent the knee before them: and it was thought effential to their greatness, to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. 'Tis Plato that informs us of all these particulars: for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were brought up, tho' he gives us fo ample an account of the education of their father.

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What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war; for they must needs have been of sufficient years: but perhaps the women opposed his design, and over-ruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these princes was such as ought to be expected from it. Cambyses came out of that school what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, sull of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream; in a word, a surious, frantic mad-man, who by his ill conduct brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, fays Plato, left him at his death, a great many vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces by sea and land: but he had not given him the means for preferving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.

This philosopher makes the same reflections with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the son of a king, had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner, as princes were; but ascended the throne with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inserior to that of Cyrus, and by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces, as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than him, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor, in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyses.

From all this Plato, after having shewn what numberless rocks and quickfands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the Persian empire, was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their successors, under whom every thing still degenerated more and more, till at last their suxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.

SECT. IV. Their breach of faith, or want of sincerity.

(1) WE are informed by Xenophon, that one of the causes, both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was their want of public faith. Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him, thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to observe all treaties, into which they had entered with the solemnity of an oath; and that even with respect to those, that had rendered themselves most unworthy of such treatment, through their persidiousness and infincerity; and 'twas by this true policy and prudent conduct, that they gained the absolute considence, both of their own subjects, and of all their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly belongs to the reign of the great Cyrus; (m) though Xenophon applies

<sup>(1)</sup> Cyr. 1. 8. p. 239. (m) De exped. Cyr. 1.1. p. 267.

it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus, whose grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith, upon any pretence whatsoever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that, if probity and truth were renounced by the rest of mankind, they ought to find a fanctuary in the heart of a king; who being the bond and center, as it were, of society, should also be the protector and avenger of faith engaged, which is the very foundation, whereon the other depends.

Such fentiments as thefe, fo noble, and fo worthy of perfons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious artificial policy soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon, (n) which heretofore the prince used to cherish and diffinguish, all the chief officers of the court began to befilled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who facrifice every thing to his humour and supposed interests; \* who hold it as a maxim, that falshood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the shortest and surest expedients for bringing about his enterprises and defigns; who look upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pufillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion in short is. that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer reasons and considerations of state, before the exact obfervation of treaties, though concluded in never to foleman and facred a manner.

The Afiatic nations, continues Xenophon, foon imitated their prince, who became their example and infructor in double-dealing and treachery. They foon gave themselves up to violence, injustice and impiety: and from thence pro-

### (n) Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 239,

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<sup>\*</sup> Eni το κατεργάζεσθαι δν επιθυμότη, συντοματάτην εδον άετο είναι διά τε έπιορκείντε, κὶ ξεύθεως, κὶ έξα-

maταν τὸ ἡ ἀσλεντε κὶ ἀληθές, τὸ ἀυτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίᾳ εἶναε. De exped, Cyr, l. I. p. 292.

ceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their so-vereigns, which is both the natural consequence and punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most facred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath, by which treaties were fealed and ratified, and the Deity brought in not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most facred and august ceremony, very proper for the subjecting of earthly princes to the supreme judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them; and for the keeping all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to fland in fear of the supreme Being, how shall they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be extinguished in the subjects as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and by what stays or pillars shall the throne be supported? (0) Cyrus had good reason to say, that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all aftonishing, that the contempt which an impious prince, who has no regard to the fanctity of oaths, shews of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best established empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction. Kings, fays (p) Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of their subjects unfaithfulness and disloyalty: but they do them wrong; and forget, that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by shewing no regard to justice and fidelity, which on all occasions they sacrificed without fcruple to their own particular interests.

(0) Cyrop. 1. 8. p. 204. (p) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390.

End of Vot. II.

Q.